

Building Character is a thesis concerning the topic of the English Character, a literary form in early modern writing based on the Theophrastian Character, the product of the student of Aristotle, the roots of which can be found in Aristotle's Rhetoric. This thesis is a part of an expanded graduate study and double thesis which extended into the forms of the Emblem, the categorization of sin, and general pulpit oratory in early modern English. These latter topics, not discussed so much here, lay open for further study if relevant to my own future productions and researches. This thesis was completed in 2000, and the subject remains a useful one in regards to approaching form generally.

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### Building Character

Morality, the seven deadly sins, (virtues and vices) humoural elements, and rhetorical devices converged in certain literary products of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century England. These literary products took the form of pamphlets, written out sermons, religious and not so religious books of Characters. The literary form I will particularly focus on is the English Character, which along with the influential modes that converged within it, was itself a re-emergence of an earlier form, the Theophrastian Character. I will be looking at some examples of the work of Joseph Hall, John Earle, Nicholas Breton, and Thomas Nashe to see how each fulfilled the requirements of the Character form, to see in what ways those convergent modes expressed themselves in each example, and how that expression was unique to each author. Before examining the work of the English authors, it is necessary to gain some understanding of the modes individually, and of the Character and its history.

The seven deadly sins, Estate literature, a remnant of the medieval social order, and the humours, an elemental form of early medical science were all in their way lesser Character forms. They dealt with the body in its variety, the meaning of various physical attributes, and behavior. Assumptions were that a visual assessment could be made regarding the subject's behavior from

his appearance and physical signs, which were thought to be both the cause and result of moral nature, and both worldly and spiritual standing. These generalizations can apply equally to all. Yet each aspect had special emphasis, a “modal” quality that gave them individual meaning and functions. The Sins were used for religious illustration, as negative examples for the purpose of moral reformation the Humours for medical and moral, and the Estates, to explain the social order of man and his classes, presented as a descending hierarchy under God. The Character was likely used to illustrate personality types an orator might find in his audience, as well as rhetorical exercises from teacher to students. So while a convergence of these elements can be easily imagined, the unique color they would individually bring to such a union also becomes visible.

The seven deadly sins as they appear in the English Character and other contemporary forms have a long and relevant descent through time, relevant because the sins distilled the very need to order the human mind during a long period of geographic and social turmoil in early western civilization. No one can say that the deadly sins came from any one source. The growth and spread of the sins mirrors alterations of attitude resulting from the changes of both physical and intellectual borders.

The Hellenistic Age provided the conditions for the synthesis and distribution of such ideas, beginning around the time of the death of Alexander, in 323 B.C. and stretched to the fifth century after the death of Christ and the fall of Rome. The period was represented by an assortment of science, religious and mythic beliefs resulting from the spread and exposure of disparate cultures from East and West, forced to meet by the conquests of Alexander. Persia, Babylon, Syria and Egypt all contributed to the boiling-pot of beliefs

that had once been composed of the clearly defined teachings of Plato, Aristotle and Epicurus. With the breakdown of the city-state of Greece came the disruption of spiritual security. There were many influences, and sources, but no structure to compose them into order.

Along with the questions of man's place in the void rose a primitive and familiar at least partial answer to explain the actions of heaven and earth: superstition. The threats of sins took form in this environment, personalized as demons. In the Medieval period, this manifestation became the central problem man faced: that of evil.

Gnosticism on its face was a religion of horrifying reason and consistency. It was not the religion of a worship of evil, but was an open-eyed acknowledgment of what it saw as the wicked nature of the world. It refused to deny the reality of evil. Evil was manifest by demons, and the world was created by a demon. But all the reason and intellect that gave believers consistent arguments also gave them hopelessness. There had to be a way out of such a world. The way out was through the redeemer figure of Jesus. He came with the message from the transcendental God, to save mankind.

The Soul Journey is an important element to Gnostic religion. The seven cardinal sins are remnants of the Soul Journey, which probably had its origins in Egypt or Syria in early Christian times. The Soul Journey belongs to an older and wider body of belief and myth known as Otherworld Journey. Otherworld Journeys were popular in literature, folklore and was found up to the eighteenth century in Western Europe. Dante's Divine Comedy was such a piece of literature. Greek mythology contains it in the story of Orpheus, and of Proserpina. The Orphics believed in a two realm underworld, the Elysian

fields for the good and Tartarus for the bad. The Egyptian Book of the Dead contained description of the passing to the underworld after death, while the Pyramid Texts described the journey of the souls of kings to a heaven in the sky.

Most important evidence of the evolution of Gnosticism into Christianity is the retention of an Otherworld Journey in the death of Christ, who, on dying descends to hell before his earthly resurrection. The apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus has extensive detailing of his activities while there, making it truly a journey in a tradition with other literature. (Barnstone 278)

The Otherworldly Journey we see is varied but with some consistencies. They all concern the journey of a man or soul of the dead to a place for revelation or message, to see or participate in joys or sorrows of the dead.

The seven cardinal sins, which appeared in the fourth century, were derived from a common feature of the soul journey. A soul, issued from God, would descend through seven spheres, accumulating a personality characteristic from each sphere before moving to the next, and then, lastly, being born. (Zaleski 20)

The seven number had its source in Babylonian astrology. (Bloomfield 23) The soul journey was originally based on the contemporary science, so the seven was related to the numbers of heavenly bodies. The Jewish seven related to animals, the forces of nature, or seven demons. The number seven was evolving from places, spheres of stations to the inhabitants and powers of these places as the emphasis, a shift that was solidified in the form of demons in the middle ages, and finally, sin itself.

There were two orders of the seven deadly sins that were significant. The first was the order as given by John Cassian, which had both gluttony and

and lust at the top of the list, with pride at the bottom. From the perspective of Cassian, this sequence made sense. Cassian was a member of a monastic order in the fourth century. These monks needed guidance that would address their unique weaknesses and problems they dealt with on a daily basis in their lives of celibacy and abstinence. Hence, the carnal sins were the most pressing, and on the top of the list. (McGinn, B. 218-219)

Cassian's list remained the popular scheme until the time of Gregory the Great (d. 604). Gregory expanded the application of the sins, and introduced them into the religious dogma. While Cassian had given eight sins, Gregory reversed them, putting Pride at the top, and making the entire order Pride, covetousness, lust, envy, gluttony, anger, and sloth.

The number seven was chosen by him for its special potency. The predominance of pride made sense from a biblical perspective because it was in essence the first sin of the universe, preceding the creation and fall of man, which mirrored the first sin. Satan's sin of pride was a direct offense against God. Satan aspired, after all, to be God. This was the first and greatest sin. Satan fell, and quite literally this was the beginning of all sin. Tempting man also to self aggrandizement (plucking fruit from the tree, knowledge of good and evil in this image being the hierarchy of the trunk, the branches, and the root) Satan lured the human race into a fate like his own, subjecting body and soul to all the weaknesses the fall made him open to. With such argument as evidence, Gregory restructured sin, with Pride the ruling evil, or one could say, the devil incarnate.

Yet even among the very pious there were alternative ways of looking at the sins. In a homily on the Book of Matthew, Saint Chrysostom revived the

three ages of man as described by Aristotle, and used them to indicate the proper order of the sins as determined by tendencies to weaknesses peculiar to the ages of man. Adults were avaricious, so this feature would be at the top of the list. Youth was lustful, and children, tempestuous. Thus lust and anger followed avarice in a descending order. This interpretation made the sins grow from physiological roots, associating the sins inevitably with the type-making tendencies that characterized our other, humoral mode.

The mixing of modes may be surprising and even delightful for the artistry displayed, but it should not be thought particularly unlikely or even rare. Each mode after all was used for explaining aspects of human behavior and identity by whatever means were available to the form's particular innate methods. There are two pieces of literature previous to the English Character I have found which effectively illustrate the tendencies of these modes to intermingle. The first of these two examples is a poem called Psychomachia, by Prudentius.

This important poem was written by a fourth century Spaniard named Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (348-c.410), who retired from law to write devotional and instructional poetry in Latin. The level of allegory we find in his poetry on the one hand may be seen as merely imitative of biblical sources, yet his imagery is so strong that on the other hand he seems to foreshadow religious writings from the early modern period. Psychomachia is, as the title suggests, the story of the combat for the soul, (which becomes implicit at the end, when a temple is built within) with the body presented as a field of battle, and two combatant armies. George Herbert's allegory of the body of the church comes to mind. John Lydgate would draw from the Psychomachia directly for his Assembly of

the Gods as well, a 15<sup>th</sup> century melding of Christian allegory and pagan reference which would also suggest the later use of archaic sources to Christian English writers. And as with Prudentius, the allegories are many and nested.

Prudentius first prefaced his poem of battle with examples from the life of Abraham which indicate the need for a rite of passage to a holy life that entails an internal battle between the “militant soul” and the “evil monsters reigning in our captive heart.” He attacks a marauding army in Sodom and Gomorrha to retrieve his captive nephew. For this brave act, he is blessed with a son in later life, a blessing that signifies the purity gained from noble combat with the forces of shameful appetite which can enslave. Prudentius then enters into the inner field of battle where our life will faithfully portray the battle of Abraham. (Prudentius 81)

We are told that Christ sends troops to battle in the war of the heart, spirits armed to fight evil thought, made clear by Prudentius in the “very forms” of virtues, and the monstrous forms of vice. All combatants are female, consistent with the general conception of the soul or spirit as feminine. In this conception, virtues and vices are seen as facets of one soul, in conflict, and the vices as being part of normal human nature as much as virtue.

We are abruptly shrunk into the microcosm of the human heart, the dwelling place of the soul, and placed in the field of a landscape. Psychomachia is episodic. Each episode pits a virtue against a vice in meaningful opposition. The details of combat are accumulated, at the ends of which in addition to the expected victory by virtue, there is a summary and short explanation of the various significance of the conflict, and revealed truths in context of the overall war/ Christian backdrop. In ways this formula is reflective of sermon structure but also more importantly the structure of the character, its episodic, compact

nature, a tendency toward compiled detail, and its internal requirements.

The order of the vices is not Gregorian, but this order seems less significant than the ordering of the virtues. Faith is first on the field. Her clothing is important, as it is gone into in some detail. She is "in careless rustic dress, with shoulders bare...naked arms exposed...not thought of weapons or of shield;..." This lack of concern or preparedness is attributed to "her sudden zeal for new conflicts." Faith falls into battle with Idolatry and defeats her. Modesty takes the field and defeats Voluptuousness. The Queen, (Faith) then creates a summary, a sort of narrative in which she compares the light of God (a virtuous, spiritual torch of goodness) with the primitive torch of Voluptuousness, a burning material torch of wood. An analogy is drawn to a holy slaying from the book of Judith, an apocryphal writing. If true power flows into earthly frames, the weak may overcome the strong. This is followed by a summation, concerning the purifying of Mary, and willing earthly flesh, by the holy and everlasting word.

This story appears again centuries later in the form of the poem Assembly of the Gods, probably written around the turn of the fifteenth century by John Lydgate, a Benedictine monk. Written in English, it is similar in style at times to Chaucer, and at times in a variable meter that seems quite loose. Yet it is the content and imagery that make this poem useful for us. The pantheon of Greek gods are presented through a dream motif in a council held in hell. Our narrator, plucked from a trance-like daze witnesses this council meeting and its purpose. The Greek gods are presented as pagan entities, and in this place, ultimately associated with vice. They wish to send their soldiers against Virtue and his minions because he would not submit to Pluto (as death). Microcosm, which is referred to explicitly, has become so standard as to be recognizable



by name, and the allegory needn't be so stringently adhered to. For instance, combatants are presented as male, a touch of realism.

Vice is presented in this order: Pride, Envy, Wrath, Covetousness, Gluttony, Lechery, Sloth, and lesser captains of Sacrilege, Simony and others, led by Idleness. The Virtues are presented as Humility, Charity, Patience, Liberality, Abstinence, Chastity, Good-Business, and lesser captains one tenth Vice's number. The field of Microcosm is entered by five highways, representing the five senses. The judge of the field is Conscience, the lord of the field is Freewill. As we can imagine, Freewill is sought to be won over to one side or the other in battle. The whole poem is given an outer frame, beyond that of sleep, which is that Lydgate ponders at both ends of the poem the reconciliation of Reason and Sensuality. Sensuality was itself one of the Vices in Prudentius. The poem shows us the trend to personify in character terms what are by nature integrated facets of human personality. In a budding realism, the intermediary characters such as Freewill and Conscience, and the natures of the pagan gods show us both a deeper understanding of the profile of personality, and the value of personification in a human parallel to psychological categories. With the advantage of contemporary scientific method, the cataloging of human types in psychology doesn't surprise us. But considering that Lydgate presented allegorically an intuitive psychology should give us insight into the need for Characters to be realized.

The fluid way the aspects of Character moved through expression is also expressed in these aspect's passage from one medium to another. The Character as we can tell developed from several different streams working both together and separately. Drama certainly transmitted the Character through both time

and change. Menander, the Greek dramatist was known to have been a student of Theophrastus, the father of the Character sketch. Audiences had a high degree of education, and demanded more sophisticated material than stories about the gods. Menander spearheaded what would become known as the New Comedy. It focused largely on domestic situations, with characters taken from daily life who the audience could recognize. Though the plays were situational, set in realistic environments, with individual characters with real names, there was still a need for identifying a general order. Cooks would be of a certain type, slaves would have an identifiable character, and the comedy or drama would consist of recognizable persons in sets of circumstances from life. The "Character" quality is obvious from a speech at the beginning of the nearly intact play Old Cantankerous. An address is made to the audience by Pan, describing a central character of the play.

...This farm here on my right is where Knemon lives: he's a real hermit of a man, who snarls at everyone and hates company. 'Company' isn't the word: he's getting on now, and he's never volunteered a polite greeting to anyone except myself (I'm the god Pan): and that's only because he lives beside me, and can't help passing my door. And I'm quite sure that, as soon as he does, he promptly regrets it. (Menander Old Cantankerous Act I 23)

The play goes on to show the story of a difficult, "melancholic" old man, his daughter, and the situation arising from a love interest. Menander's plays were the first to present true to life situations. Because they dealt with universal themes (common domestic circumstances, human behavior) they spread outside of Athens. Through Roman adaptations (Terence, 186-159 B.C.) their trends

spread to Europe, influencing Moliere and beyond.

Audiences for Menander's plays were large, sometimes exceeding 17,000 people in an outdoor auditorium. (Menander intro. Norman Miller 16)

The closest audience members may have been sixty feet from the stage. Nuance in acting would have been unnoticed. To help in identifying the cast and speakers, as well as the temperaments they represented, masks with set expressions would be worn. The masks were worn throughout the play. Expressions were often exaggerated and grotesque. So the subtlety and individuality of character was counterbalanced by the need for clear classification in an ironic use of identifying particulars through types. What this history gives us is nearly liquid movement and use of the aspects we have seen unified in the form of the character repeatedly. In drama, the aspect of the humours (temperaments represented by masks) has merely become multi-media. The layering of expression throughout the play may seem affected, but as a simulation of situations and behavior is truer than an "acted" expression of an inner state; a mask for clarity is more "real" to the audience/actor stage relation than would be an appearance plucked from daily life.

The realistic aspect in Menander and his depiction of vocations found a later parallel in the estates. Alike enough to exist in art side by side, while different enough to create subtle artificiality, the New Comedy and Estate Literature both added to a rich collection of sources for later English authors.

The estates were a survival of feudal order, which was characterized by extremes in wealth and poverty, class and privilege into the early Modern Period. The well known estates were the clergy, the nobility, and the third estate, made up of laborers and peasantry. Each was divided into a hierarchy that

was considered a divine institution, an indispensable world structure akin to heavenly and angelic order. Some categories were the various professions, estates of the body and mouth at court, such as butchers, chefs, and wine pourers, sacredotal orders, such as priests and deacons, the monastic orders, and the orders of the knights. These orders were in a divine relationship, though the ideal may not be realized on earth. The ideal itself remained intact as the basis of and guide for social continuity.

The interrelationships and associations between the estates is still not completely understood, but it is known that some estates and orders were associated with certain virtues by their nature and specific responsibilities. According to Chastellain, court historian of Philip the Good, the clergy was created for works of faith, the nobility to be virtuous, natural rulers, and to present a model for others through bravery, integrity and kindness. The third estate, inclusive of all others, exhibited humility, industry, and obedience to king and lords. That such categorization would give rise to fairly standard characterizations in literature based on vocation and class is obvious. Beginning with a set standard or ideal for each order, complete with its own distinctive qualities, the estate system would inspire if not prescribe what a typical person of specific social position would be like in bearing and character. Estate literature was exactly this, a literature compliant to the structures of a genre that provided situations and characters quickly recognized and understood. The Romance of the Rose falls easily into this category, with its knights and their chivalrous qualities and concerns.

Associated with placement in the estates and inseparable from human behavior were the humours. The human body (as did those of other animals)

had four fluids. A disproportion of any of the four showed distinct physical and mental effects on the subject. Each humour had an associated planet, constellation, hour, day and the season, color, metal and disease, as well as time of life.

Events, situations and vocations were also related to these conditions.

A balance of the four humours brought health, both physical and mental.

The humours corresponded to the seven planets in this way. The phlegmatic humour had two “complexions”; Venus and the moon. The choleric humour was also divided between the sun and Mars. The sanguine humour (blood) was represented by the influence of Jupiter. Melancholy (black bile) had Saturn, and Mercury created instability among all four humours. Calendar times and life times, metals, and colors were used conveniently and with stress depending on the knowledge of the physician.

Social status and profession were said to be related to the humours.

Sanguine men could be nobles, prelates, and the rich, as eminence in the popular mind meant happiness. The influence of Jupiter was thought to be lucky in itself, the guiding planet of the sanguine type. Blood ruled the sanguine man's body. He was masculine and temperate, handsome and fair. <sup>1</sup>

Choleric men, who were under the influence of Mars, could be warriors, drunks, and traitors. Surgeons and physicians were sometimes included in this grouping, possibly because of the associated metal, iron, and a correspondence with cutting tools. In contrast, choleric influenced by the sun could be kings, as the associated metal, gold, was also considered a royal metal. <sup>2</sup>

The phlegmatic character was less lucky than the sanguine. It was more complicated to begin with, being born under two possible planets, Venus or the

moon. It could be said however, that the phlegmatic character was always cold and moist, or cowardly, stupid and voluptuous.

The melancholy humour is opposite from the sanguine. It is characteristically cold and dry. It lacks vitality and is appropriate to age. The melancholy times were autumn, and the days of the week, Friday and Saturday. It was under the influence of Saturn, the evil and dangerous planet. Its alchemical substance was earth, and its metal aspect was thought to be lead or black stone.

Causes of melancholy could be many, and Elizabethans didn't generally separate cause from symptom from effect. Galen felt foods caused it and diet could effect a cure. Dariot felt it was more an astrological predisposition, or racially peculiar to Moors or Jews or other unfortunates. Burton was inclined to think it largely the effect of a psychological condition, often of sin.

Burton identified himself as Democritus Junior on the title page of his Anatomy of Melancholy, drawing attention to Democritus Alidera, known in the Renaissance for his melancholy and as the "laughing philosopher." Inspired by Anatomy of Wit (1615) by Anthony Zara, he divided his study of melancholy into sections and member, literally a dissection of the psychiatric term as it was known during his period. Of the many types of melancholy the malady described (as distinct from melancholy the temperament), there is the laughing melancholy, or sanguine melancholy, manifest as fits of periodic laughter. By this bit of reference, and his name choice, Burton suggested to the reader elements of satire within his text, as well as irony in his name and title.

There was a certain timeliness in Burton's book. Replacing Wright's Passions of the Mind in popularity, (a book which dealt generally with mental

states, perhaps the first English book on psychiatry) it came at a time when melancholy in particular was in vogue. For one thing, it had become associated with creative genius. Greene, Nashe, Chapman, Breton and Donne, among others were all said to suffer from it. English travelers in the sixteenth century found melancholy very popular in Italy. The Aristotelian concept of melancholy was still influential there, and particularly virulent at the end of the fifteenth century and onward. (Babb 74) Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Sach in background for a work on Durer, credited the popularity of melancholy in that period to Ficino, and specifically the work De Vita Libri Tres (1482-89) which was very popular. Ascham, among other Englishmen, attributed the mannerism and affectations of melancholy in the young to the influence of travel in Italy. These affectations were generally characterized in the individual as malcontent. In The Repentance of Robert Greene, Greene claims to have returned from travels with malcontented melancholy:

At my return to into England, I ruffled out in my silks, in the habit  
of Malcontent, and seemed so discontent, that no place would  
please me to abide in, nor no vocation cause mee to stay my self  
in:... (Greene 20)

Robert Burton consolidates from many sources, which were widely read in his time, in his Anatomy of Melancholy, to give us a most consistent and broad medical and scientific view. His humoral overview presents us with a picture of interrelated values and measures, both bodily and spiritual. Burton first set up a system of contrasts, parallels and divisions to account for the human being, its nature, and its potential problems. Over many pages, he divided the body and particularly the melancholic humour into infinitely small and smaller parts.

Though Burton was thorough and exhaustive in his own way, if we look to his ancient predecessor, we see aspects relevant to the Character that Burton has lost, for instance, an association of humoral aspects of man to his particular environment. Looking backward from Burton to Hippocrates can both narrow and widen our focus; it can expand our understanding of historical framework, while showing us how persistent and direct our small handfuls of ideas can be.

The Hippocratic corpus of writing consists of seventy texts of varied style and quality. They were, perhaps surprisingly, in use until the nineteenth century, when the development of modern medical science brought interest other than historical to an end.

The purposes of Corpus Hippocraticum overall were likely as textbooks for physicians and laymen, research materials, lectures for students, and essays by non-physician philosophers. It was obviously written by many people, though some texts might have been written by a "Hippocrates" or his students.

In the introduction to the second volume of Hippocrates, W.H.S. Jones discusses the use of a short, aphoristic form in scientific literature. Though often thought to be a form confined to pre-scientific moral writing, in Greek scientific literature Jones considers it a special case. Like the inducement to remember a visually striking character representation in a later literature, Jones says that in Hippocrates it was used to assist memory. It also appeared to be an ideal means of delivering generalized facts. The aphoristic style became unpopular in the fourth century in favor of a more rhetorical prose style, so the aphoristic style was confined to the early Hippocratic writing, dating from between 450 to 400 B.C.

Airs, Waters and Places begins with an appeal to the physician to be



cognizant of environmental conditions before proceeding to patients. The author distinguishes the seasons first as having a high ranking influence on village inhabitants. Next hot and cold winds are mentioned, and distinguished between universal and regional. Water is next, whether marshy (soft) or hard (from rocky heights) or “brackish and harsh. The soil is regarded too, whether bare and dry or wooded and watered, hollow and hot or high and cold.” (Hippocrates 71) Lastly, mode of life is considered regarding food frequency and drinking habits. As the book begins to focus on specific environmental conditions and combinations, we see the absurdity of the characterizations of the dwellers, even before specific peoples are focused on. Their conditions and maladies seemed colored by characterizations that are distinctly psychological and behavioral in nature, with distinction of a corresponding physical appearance.

Such descriptions may seem only weakly related to character, hardly show real tendencies toward “character”. But what they do give us is a clue to a practical origin. Giving an itinerant physician a set of standards by which to begin functioning as a doctor, before he has enough cases in his past to consider a “case by case” method can be seen as relatively practical, regardless of how variant the reality of the contents of these illustrative standards are. In both style, (the aphoristic moral) and illustration of a practical inclination to postulate stereotypes, the *Corpus Hippocraticum* can be seen as an important source for creative applications of practical learning.

There is no doubt that the humoral medicine found its way into Theophrastus’ awareness, most reasonably through Aristotle, but we mustn’t forget that Theophrastus was a natural scientist in his own right, and wrote many tracts on various subjects of nature. We even have his interpretations and

commentaries on those earlier influences on the hippocratic school, Anaximenes and Empedecles.

“Anaximenes says... that the underlying nature is one and infinite, but not undefined as Anaximander said but definite, for he identifies it as air; and it differs in its substantial nature by rarity and density. Being made finer it becomes fire, being made thicker it becomes wind, then cloud, then (when thickened still more) water, then earth then stone; and the rest comes into being from these. He, too, makes motion eternal, and says that change, also comes about through it.”

(Kirk 145)

The ideas of these ancient authors and thinkers were distilled and organized in the works of the figure who was perhaps the true father of the Character, Aristotle. Particularly important of his works for this purpose were his Nicomachean Ethics and Rhetoric. His Ethics clearly directs us toward a perception of gradation in good and evil, and a recognition of types as perceived by a quasi-scientific mind. His intent seemed moreover to be to give a usable handbook of observation and workings of the various natures man is subject to. In book one of his Nicomachean Ethics, he directs his attention to basic notions of truth and good.

In pursuit of good, a master art, of which good is the direct object, must be determined for purposes of creating an art line from which to work. Aristotle determines the overriding art to be politics. Politics, according to Aristotle, determines the other sciences to be studied within a state, by which class of citizen and to what extent. Containing the accumulated good or ends of

the other sciences, as well as legislation regarding what to do and what not to do, Political ends must represent overall the good of man. While individual good may be the same as the good of man, the good of the state must necessarily be higher good. Achieving for the nation or city state is thought to be superior to the good of the single individual, more "godlike." (Aristotle 936) Therefore the nation or city-state is the elemental means to good; the individual, exists as a representative individual, who has the capacities and tendencies of the strengths and weaknesses important for illustration of the state and its problems, values and conditions.

Each man must begin with what is known to himself, amid the general known. This "responsive" aspect exists with Characters as with the entire system of knowledge as described in Nicomachean Ethics. A listener must both recognize and agree with some element of a speaker's lecture for it to be of any use in the attaining of good. "If you know this to be true, we can assume from what you already know, that this is also the case.." is how we might imagine a speaker putting it. This is how Aristotle leads from the familiar to what Plato called "first principles", or, knowledge without qualifications. Aristotle claims that the person who has been brought up in good habits has this start. This allows a listener to begin with the facts as presented as the starting point, where reason is not yet present, while an unknowing man flounders. Grasping the starting points means a key recognition of knowledge and wisdom, the operative means of the later Characters, conceptualized in the early chapters (4 and 5) of book I of these Ethics.

Aristotle begins book II of his Nicomachean Ethics by dividing virtue into intellectual and moral. Intellectual virtue owes its existence and growth to

teaching, while the moral is the result of habit. Virtue is equated with the arts, in that it is first got through their exercise. As proof of the habitual nature of virtue, Aristotle gives the example of the legislator forming good citizens by forming good habits in them, and by the use of a good constitution. This line of pursuit leads to an examination of the nature of actions, particularly how we should perform them, they have a further bearing on the production of character. Virtue is defined as a "state of character", one having to do with choice that lies within a mean between defect and excess, which is where the opposites lie. Vice though this is not exclusively the case, for instance, lies in things with evil or crime implied in their name, such as murder, which could not have a mean. It is choice that makes sin what it is and not merely irresponsible animal behavior. "Voluntary" can be reactive to passions, and in the domain of animal emotions, but choice itself is indicative of intelligence and therefore subject to responsibility, implying that right choice is obvious to the intelligent. Choice helps situate action in the mean between opposing vices in a band of virtue, as virtue is along the mean of the line containing vice at either end, and virtue is a state of character, so must the vices be an aspect of character, and manifestations of the choices of sin. Wrong choice, since it is known to be wrong, bears the responsibility.

Aristotle begins making rough Characters to illustrate the operation of his line of two extremes with the mean in the middle, along with the functions of choice and the nature of voluntary acts. He also makes an important statement regarding the accumulative elements he has given us in regard to the ultimate application of the Characters. In book IV, chapter three of Nicomachean Ethics, concerning pride, he states, "It makes no difference whether we consider the state of character or the man characterized by it." (Aristotle 991) In this short

statement he has given us virtual though broad general negative definition of the Character, having already explored the various possible avenues of character aspects. All that is lacking is the literary structure of his student. He goes on to describe the “proud man,” in a fashion that hedges between what is legitimately prideful and what is not, and how along his scale one combination may be virtue, while another is vice.

If Nicomachean Ethics was suggestive of a unifying method for characterizing human types and associated behavior, Aristotle’s work Rhetoric gave it a more specific background of empirical material, as well as suggestions of practical application as to the use of this new possible category of knowledge.

There is a construction in Aristotle which might give the structure Theophrastus gave the Character a more formal origin. This ancestor is to be found in the Enthymemes, discussed in chapter 20-22 , book II of Rhetoric. An Enthymeme is essentially a syllogism of two parts; the first part is a statement or maxim, while the second part or phrase (sentence) is an explanation of the results or reasons for the statement being true. Aristotle constructs a four line enthymeme from Euripides’ Medea:

Never should any man whose wits are sound Have his sons  
taught more wisdom than their fellows. It makes them idle,  
and therewith they earn Ill-will and jealousy throughout the city.

(Aristotle 1414)

We immediately see the man’s sons who are perhaps vain, thinking themselves even more than they are. The second part directs our observation and deduction to the intended point, and summarizes for us the meaning of the first part, while also encapsulating the image our own mind draws up of the sons

and their possible fates. Compare this formula to a typical summary ending of one of Theophrastus' Characters and we see what could very likely be an origin.

Also, both the Enthymeme and the Character are used as means of persuasion. Whatever other purpose (amusement, exercise?) they may be put to, both forms argue an interpretation for some ultimate advantage, particularly a moral one showing cause and effect of good or bad.

Aristotle addresses anger at great length. He dissects it, breaking it down into a variety of slights, (contempt, spite, and insolence) conditions and distresses. (illness, poverty, war, and lost love) He ends by suggesting the usefulness of such knowledge in public speaking, for convincing an audience to dislike an opponent:

Clearly the orator will have to speak so as to bring the hearers into a frame of mind that will dispose them to anger, and to represent his adversaries as open to such charges and possessed of such qualities as do make people angry. (1384)

By coloring his opponent in such a way as to inspire anger, the orator practices a resonant psychology on his audience, while the means to this end is a character profile. He never instructs to anger directly, but to create such a vivid offensive character, that anger is the result.

Further along, Aristotle involves us with materials even more directly associated with the Character, and not surprisingly, a list similar to the seven deadly sins. These items are oddly all tucked below the trait of shame and shamelessness as causes. This list consists of cowardice, injustice, licentiousness, low greed and meanness, flattery, effeminacy, and "actions due to any other

badness of moral character.” (1393)

For our purposes the sections dealing specifically with character or aspects of our topic can be plucked from their context and presented as evidence of lineage farther than Theophrastus. But as Aristotle repeatedly points out to us, these contents of emotions, gifts of fortune and character are as much a part of rhetorical tools as the enthememe and the maxim. Characterization are words, symbols that, as we may take the hint from his digression with “hate” (and its implied opposite of love) involve types and classes, more than the individual object of anger (or calmness). These extensions through the oratorical skill may be made the subject of hate, just as they may be made the objects of hate. This power is in the hands of the persuasive speaker, who may use the seemingly strict combinations of his types, with examples from his use of the “line of opposites with a mean” to help him form public opinion of some other or group. The placement of the character aspects amid the more “oratorical” elements of rhetoric make this use clear. This is not a program concerning values as such. For Aristotle, values means measures and measurement, used to help identify, define and assess situations and persons in them for one’s own gain. Therefore, value of this kind deals with truth only in so far as it is useful to the orator. This is an important distinction for us regarding the nature of the Character, which is given plainly here at its roots, but not so obviously from its later practice and perfection; the Character is made up of behaviors that seem true because they are not contradictory to each other, and they are so interwoven with the observable and the public biases as to make them seen individually true, which is something they are not. With Aristotle as a guide, the Character has the possibility of being a parasitic image that almost literally draws the perceiver to it, to fulfill its final presentation

in the eye/ear/mind.<sup>3</sup> It appears that Aristotle's student Theophrastus took these lessons from his master and created a literary form.

Theophrastus was born in about 370 B.C., on the island of Lesbos. By the age of 25, he was studying with Aristotle. Aristotle was patronized by Hermias, who lived in a town near Theophrastus, whom he had been with after leaving Athens, at the death of Plato. When Hermias was put to death by the Persians (in 341), Aristotle returned to Athens with his now pupil, Theophrastus. Advanced in many fields, it was assumed that Theophrastus would ascend to the control of the Lyceum when Aristotle died, which was the case. Except for one year in exile, Theophrastus remained the head of the school from the death of Aristotle until his own death in 285 B.C.

Theophrastus is considered the inventor, or, distiller, of the Character. Whether written for ethical instruction, rhetorical exercise, or after dinner entertainment, the Character was taken seriously enough as an effort of creation that it could be said to follow a worked out scheme or pattern nearly the same in its thirty examples. (Theophrastus, Edmonds intro. 10)

The length varied somewhat, but they were all brief, averaging approximately three hundred words translated. Each Character outlined one aspect or quality of human nature. Viewed from an Aristotelian perspective, we can say these are all ethical in nature; they utilize Aristotle's conception of extremes which are vices, and means, which are virtues (Though no virtues have come down to us in the Theophrastian collection). As some Characters are not as far along the line to extreme, they may seem petty enough to be humorous, which some are.

First, a characteristic is named, followed by a brief definition of it. Next, typical actions and speeches of the character using details of what he says and



does. The author seems to be an objective observer, and the person of Theophrastus doesn't interrupt to insert value judgments or criticism of the characters' thoughts. Generally, they end abruptly, simply stopping the list. Some that seem to summarize (a feature of the later English Character) at the end were likely completed by other hands after their composition by Theophrastus. Despite a regularity, there is among these characters enough subtle variety in form and content to suggest most of the variations that would come. While sketches such as "Petty Pride" may characterize a perfect model of form and its moral content, characters such as "Flattery" depict a professional parasite, rather than a vice or sin. "Boorishness" gives is a particular from a certain social class, while "Oligarchy" and "Friendship with Rascals" risk commentary in the public forum.

Structurally there is some variety as well. "Cowardice" consists of two scenes of cowardice, one at sea and one at war. "Garrulity" consists of one monologue by the Garrulous man. Yet in this collection, the most effective characters are those that fit the model method the closest. These appear to be about men, characterized by their actions, while less successful Characters indicate actions less clearly indicative of a type. Here the magic seems to be the balance between visual detail of an individual and a recognizable generalized nature (the type who...). It is important to acknowledge that though the Theophrastian Characters generally conform to their own model, they do not do so rigidly. Even in their invention, the Character was susceptible to exterior influence and pollution of content and form. This is perhaps a part of its literary nature that it is inclined to be applied broadly to make everything explainable by representative types, and also a foreshadowing of a human tendency broadly applied repeatedly in the future. In The Theophrastian Character in England, Boyce regards these

tendencies to extend applications as “absolutes” and “shadowing in art.”

While “absolutes” is self explanatory in this context, “shadowing in art” is more abstract. It basically means the obscuring of all features of a person but for the one in the focus of the study. Everything else falls in the “shadow” of the featured feature. The entire Character must be pictured to be thought real, yet only a simple aspect of him may be revealed, and the object may be seen only through this one facet. Thus only events and descriptions relevant to the one feature are shown. By the vividness of the limited presentation, the character appears so real that he must be and all the unmentioned necessary features that make up any real person are simply in the shadow of the one overpowering trait. (Boyce 153-155)

The path to the English Theophrastian Character is not a straight one, and not even an unbroken one, from any approach. That the modern novel can be traced back to it is a topic for another paper. That other forms, “modes” can be traced up to it is the topic of this. The humours, Estates sins and the Character, with its beginnings in rhetoric, have through time mined the same earth, though perhaps for different immediate reasons. All of the preceding material I have presented begins with one thing in common: necessity. Whether rigid and inflexible forms or flexible and general, they became at any given time what they were required to be.

The modes were responsive and purposeful. A product of the human mind, social pressure, adjusted to increased learning, political change and physical comfort/security drew the modes to each other to fulfill their function. And that common function of these modes is to give category to immediate necessity. Humours entail the body fluids; the blood that heats, the phlegm that lubricates.

The humours are the substance of the very moment of living. To have an ordered perception of it gives strength over the self which is embedded in the humours.

The sins and virtues order the movements of this machine, and give guidance though time with examples of the life preserving and the life diverting. The fear to act because of a fear of a plunge into non-existence, the great mystery that was a lack of knowledge, gave speculation an order in the period of our material life and after. This order, of sin and virtue, was created as identity, just as the four humours were ourselves identified; the sins, the virtues: our psychology, our behavior, overseeing the operation and moral conduct of our machine, what we could expect to be through time and action.

The estates and Estate Literature projected order at the crucial juncture that lay between one person's existence and another's. It put man in a social arrangement where each is in the process of self preservation, as acting in the humours and the sins, and virtues.

The history of the Character, which is in part the shared history of rhetoric, is first built on the humours, sins and virtues, and additionally, vocations and placement articulated in the estates. The Character as a broad category embraces the operating levels of the individual, his livelihood and conduct, and then, his predictability with these other modes as considerations.

That these elements may overshadow each other in proportions due to circumstance can be imagined, as can exchanges, and reversals. The Character as it became known, as the relatively controlled and diminutive literary object of Theophrastus and then some later English imitators is a focal point, for the Character's own weighty history, diminished to a point like Joseph Hall's dichotomizing reasoning.

Each of my chosen English Character writers has written out of an immediate necessity, even as some of their products may seem trivial or offhanded. The authors are participants in a tradition of a need to state and find the self in a larger category in which each can be a type with fellow sojourners. The act of identity is a lonely compulsion; to share at the end a sense of the familiar with some other is its own reward. Each author I have chosen has revealed in certain of their Characters the sympathy and satisfaction of the immediate necessity, in which they are suspended as authors, and their writing suspended as product. This revelation I find at the odd faces of each, where the author finds a point of abstraction which is sensible somehow, but beyond the words they write. These points of abstraction are where the synthesis of influences emerges and exposes the nature of the Character.

Joseph Hall's Characters and related forms reveal a compulsive aspect, restrained by a disciplined and settled intellect, seeking to control his materials and expression equally. The result is that the reader is aware of his hand at all times. Hall operates predominantly through a form dictated by his rhetorical training. The substance of his Characters are choices made from purposes of moral instruction. To reveal the strengths and weaknesses of his Characters, he directs the Character's behavior one facet at a time, not being one way, he must be the opposite, this not being true, this must be, almost Ramist in his branching dichotomies. Hall strips his subjects as if he prunes a tree, taking them down to a single stalk, and then summarizing what he sees there. His method is effective if mechanical. He leans also toward the Proverbial. The Proverb, a simple and often self evident form, figures well with his other tendencies. The Proverb is inarguable. It is reasoning also taken down to an indivisible point.

Though Hall seeks a middle ground through reason, he also is compelled toward a point of evaporation. He seeks a dogma based on his own powers of ratiocination. Hall's personal point of fusion in his writing is when he has diminished his subject to the degree that all that is left is a summary of its existence; as if he has finished with it and writes the eulogy. The life affirming necessity as revealed in Hall is a completeness that puts him in possession. This end is the purpose for which Hall operates the Character.

Joseph Hall is commonly credited with having reintroduced the Character to England in contemporary guise. Though Isaac Casaubon published a collection of the Theophrastian Characters (twenty three in number, in both Greek and Latin) in 1592, the Characters were not themselves widely read or known of in the sixteenth century. Only a few scholars such as Erasmus seemed to have been aware of them or thought them of much significance.

Hall was born on July 1st, 1574 in Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire. His mother, Winifride, was likely his earliest religious influence. She was a devoted parishoner of Antony Gilby, the vicar of Ashby, who wrote several anti-Roman pamphlets and had strong Puritan leanings. That this tendency was passed on to Joseph by his mother very early is likely, as well as more direct influence by Gilby as Hall matured. Hall's basic character makeup could be said to have been formed by the Puritan creed: sobriety, commitment to God's Providence, and an intellectual certitude, held together with an authentic personal modesty. Though little is actually known about Hall's earliest instruction, it is likely that he was schooled by the vicar, and that schooling consisted of Latin studies, Greek, and writing exercise in imitation of Cicero. (Tourney 14) Hall was being educationally groomed for the ministry, receiving the tools he would need to write,

interpret, and read religious polemics of the time. His education was dictating his inclinations: scriptural wisdom held in highest esteem, German theological interpretation for understanding, and a dislike of pomp in religion. After his school days in Ashby, at fifteen, Hall was sent to Emmanuel College in Cambridge. The college had been founded only in 1584, so its established tradition was reflective of the new and exciting methods, leanings and theory of the day. It was strongly bent toward Puritan belief, for instance, and the systematic rhetoric and theory of Ramus had also taken hold. This influence formed around the core curriculum of the classical trivium of rhetoric, logic and grammar. Hall was also known to have been tutored by Nathanael Gilby, the son of Anthony Gilby, so we can gather reasonably that the rather radical instruction continued on through into Hall's College years. Hall received his Bachelor's degree in 1592, his Masters in 1596, and took Holy Orders in 1600, staying on afterward as a teacher of Rhetoric at the college.

In 1597, he anonymously published Virgidemiae, verse satires in the style of Juvenal, composed in three books. Book one dealt largely with literary criticism and satire of the writers of his day. Book II dealt with the professions of his time and society. Lawyers, doctors, scholars, and astrologers were all treated. Book III dealt with the prevalent manners of the day, which he saw as indicative of the decline of civilization since antiquity. Though youthful writings, the subjects treated showed an eye capable of capturing the subtle distinctions of behavior and class that grace his Characters with their special variety of focus.

The following year he published a second volume of satires, this time with his name attached. He was twenty-four. In satire, Hall was preceded

Comment [NC1]:

by Lodge, Gascoigne, Skelton, who all dealt with morality and sin in their verse. Unique to Hall however was that he focused on imitation of the classical authors. When other satirists books were burned in 1599 in a purge of scandalous materials, Hall's writing escaped the flames, though barely. This fortune was to be typical of Hall, color his public perception as a man and author, and also ironically be present in his style; he was a natural mediator, who sought the middle ground while trying to hold to opinions and views that bordered on an extreme. While some of his satires could be considered scathing, he practiced just enough restraint to keep him from severe trouble in this case. Later on, his tendency to compromise would leave him open to censure from both extremes of the "means" he chose, in what in retrospect would show him to be remarkably consistent and integrated in his life and art.

When James died in 1625, and Charles I ascended the throne, Hall's position changed. William Laud dominated both court and church as Archbishop. Laud leaned strongly toward a Romanized Anglican church, and was suspicious of Hall's Calvinism. Despite this leaning he advanced Hall who eventually accepted the bishopric at Exeter. Hall of course didn't share Laud's drive to eliminate Puritans from the ranks, but when the Scots expelled the bishops, Hall did write treatises to refute their actions at the request of Laud. Though this act may have made him enemies on one side it did ingratiate him to Laud temporarily, and anyway, Hall did believe in the divine sanction of the bishopric. Hall's defensive writing, beginning with Episcopy by Divine Right (1640) was followed by A Humble Remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament. In 1641, the civil war was commencing, and by 1643, Hall was deprived of his bishopric. Under Cromwell, Hall was allowed to preach, but in 1648, was expelled from his residence.

He moved to a small house in Higham where he continued to write until his death in 1656.

Hall makes oblique acknowledgment of Theophrastus in his short introduction to his *Characters* by referencing their history. He identifies his source as the “old heathens.” Hall draws parallels between the reception of knowledge by Greek thinkers, and the transmission of the New Testament to the apostles of the Bible; “these received the Acts of an inbred law, in the Sinai of Nature, and delivered them with many expositions to the multitudes:...” (Hall 143)

Hall describes his heathen predecessors as teaching virtue and vice in three ways: deep discourse on felicity and the path to it, general notions of goodness applied to particular cases, and a combination of these that so finely distinguishes virtue and vice that they might be recognized by the face, this third way being *Character*. Hall further defines the *Character* as an easy and painless way of learning despite oneself, as it is an entertaining and at times amusing form. Learning wit and goodness from heathens does not offend him; and in further defending his own *Characters*, he states that imitation of worthy examples exceeds invention, though the steps in Hall’s path are “higher and wider.” (143-144) The caution Hall expresses in his apologies for his sources could reasonably be seen as slightly overdone. Both Cicero and Seneca had long since been absorbed into the canon of useful and acceptable sources for the religious. (Tourney 62)

Though Milton held Cicero in high regard, Hall’s wasn’t on best terms with him. (Huntley 43) This all best gives evidence to Hall’s general sense of caution in his desire to take that middle ground, where no one would be offended and the truth, the means between extremes, could best be revealed.



The inclination to value imitation over invention can be seen in Hall's other writings. It was a consistent choice. Other influences of his education can also be seen, though some are so deeply rooted in his composition as to be inseparable from it. Woven through it all is an adherence to Scripture, which in the adult Hall always claimed the lion's share of his literary attention. Learning became a means of its expression and exegesis through him. For instance, the Ramist influence of his college years can be seen in a near marriage with holy number value, a religious fetish mentioned earlier, which survived through the middle ages and entered the Renaissance through its evident significance for biblical authors. For instance, in 2 Kings, 4:35, a child Elisha revives sighs seven times, and in Psalms 118:164, we have "Seven times daily I praise you, lord." Saint Bernard used these Psalms to base a sermon in which he expounds on the significance of each sigh of the revived child, as well as parallel it with other biblical occurrences of "seven". It is in this way that holy number values entered into the English pulpit, as such a commonplace as to be useful for structure, it was so integrated. The Humanist influence emitted its own number value as well. The dichotomous manner of organization can be seen to influence the structure of argument in the pulpit as well, with its use of opposing distinctions to get to more and more particular truths. An example of this method can be seen in Hall's Heaven Upon Earth, a piece of moral writing which preceded his Characters but contained some structural similarities. It is divided into sections which can be seen to argue "characteristics" of moral being, each section beginning with distinctions of difference, or couplings of likeness between aspects. Each progressive section builds upon the advances of the last, and continues to divide or equate the distinction further. For instance,

sec IV begins:

I find on the one hand two universall enemies of tranquillitie;  
 Conscience of evil done, Sense of fear of evill suffered. The  
 former in one word, wee call sins, the latter, crosses. The  
 first of these must be quite taken away, the second duly  
 tempered ere the heart can be at rest. For first, how can that  
 man be at peace, that is at variance with God and himself?

(Hall 91)

and in section V we have

There can be therefor no peace without reconciliation, thou  
 canst no be friends with thy self, till with God: for thy conscience  
 (which is thy best friend while though sinnest not) like an honest  
 servant takes his Masters part against thee when thou hast  
 sinned; and will not look straight upon thee, till thou upon God;  
 not daring to bee so kind to thee, as to be unfaithfull to his Maker:  
 There can be no reconciliation without remission. (94)

The grammatical separations, the two, the binary correspondence, the  
 logical tit for tat and the subjection of character to reason make these passages  
 powerful devotional forms in themselves, seemingly designed to instruct, but  
 also to control. We can see such logical influences in the Personal Devotions  
 of Lancelot Andrews as well, which is both a structural poem and a biblical  
 system of digression.

Reason and number value could also be seen as entering into Hall's  
 casuistry in his Decisions of Divers Practical Cases of Conscience, which offers  
 us insights into Hall's Character method. This book was described as "probable

advances for the simpler sort of Christians." (Tourney 59) It contained what Hall called four "decades," the ethics of business, civil responsibility, religion and matrimony. Hall would pose a question, give a general answer in principle, and then explore further for possible qualifications or exceptions. This method of distinction, using natural reasoning creates a "holy numbering" when put to such religious purposes. The mere fact of division of qualities recalls the essence of holy number, which is the use of faculties (the five senses) for purposes of gaining understanding, reverence and compliance with scripture. This particular text as well, as suggested by its described purpose of supplying spiritual guidance for the simple layman, might give evidence for other of Hall's choices. It seems clear from his mediating tendencies, that he was a clergyman of the people, making an attempt as best he could to reach the most people. This fact suggests a more practical reason for his embracing of the simpler Senecan style over the more ornamental Cicero. It also suggests a deeper purpose for his step by step incremental reasoning as employed in his Heaven Upon Earth: to lead the unsophisticated mind to a higher understanding of moral judgment. This was, after all one of the distinctions between Anglican and Catholic religions; that the soul's salvation was a private affair between the individual and his God, the confessional having been stripped from the church ordinances. Theology was now the layman's concern. It was perhaps intellectual vanity that kept other Anglicans from similar adjustments. This state, because of his puritan upbringing, Hall seems to have suffered from relatively little. It is also true that Seneca was monotheistic. This belief made him in the long run the easier heathen to apologize for.

The allegorical mentality enters in as well: the framework in which the not distinctly religious may be reinterpreted. For instance, a Ramist syllogism has two

positions or extremes, between which is a middle or term, an argument that draws the two extremes together. I can see that the two extremes may be seen as father and holy ghost, while the unifying term or argument is Christ. The syllogism works as a useful form of reasoning as well as a perfect allegory to represent the relation of man to the trinity. It should also be clear that, as much as Ramus meant to separate himself from the thinking of Aristotle, who he meant to replace, his syllogistic logic had been presented nearly exactly by Aristotle with his own means between extremes.

Hall creates balance in largest form by giving us a relative balance between virtue and vice. Hall's Characters are divided into two books: one for virtues, one for vice. Theophrastus is further identified in the Proeme to book one as the "ancient Master of Morality, who thought this the fittest taske for the ninety and ninth yeares of his age, and the profitablest monument that he could leave for a farewell to his Grecians." Hall's first book contains eleven virtues, which are "The Wise Man," "Of an Honest Man," "Of the Faithfull Man," "Of the Humble Man," "Of a Valiant Man," "Of a Patient Man," "Of the True Friend," "Of the truly-noble," "Of the Good Magistrate," "Of the Penitent Man" and "His is An Happy Man." Book two contains fifteen vices, "The Hypocrite," "The Busie-Body," "The Superstitious," "The Profane," "The Malecontent," "The Unconstant," "The Flatterer," "The Slothfull," "The Covetous," "The Vaine-glorious," "The Presumptuous," "The Distrustfull," "The Ambitious," "The Unthrifty," and "The Envious."

To choose, one must know. Knowledge includes evil and good. Decision requires understanding. Wisdom, however, involves a deeper understanding of good which includes knowledge of final questions. Answers, the end of knowledge, do not require faith. Wisdom includes an understanding of the limitations of

knowledge, which includes faith. This truth is why Wisdom is first in the list of Virtues, and knowledge can not be seen in this context. It is wise to observe that religious instruction in this arena generally gives us the sins and stops there, presenting a negative conception of religion. Puritanism has commonly been perceived in a negative light in this regard. We are encouraged by these Virtues and Vices not to judge Hall too abruptly. Though of Puritan upbringing, he operated in an Anglican environment, and his sense of balance seems to prevail in all of his endeavors. Looking at the list of virtues and vices, we can also see they are composed of approximate opposites. Yet only some of them are actually named after the classical virtues and vices. They need to be fit into that traditional mold, to be interpreted instead of received verbatim. This is because they are more representative of types of people than they are of the traditional models. They are composed of several instead of one, like real people the reader might recognize. Yet internally, each example forces the reader to strain his intellect to follow the course of reason and balances. Though simple in language and short in phrasing, Hall pulls the reader into reasoning and language puzzles. Again, he chooses a kind of opposition in his contrasting of the simple with the complex. Passing by Virtue, so to be more consistent with our other authors we come to his book of Vices, in search of our traces of sins. The first Vice, "The Hypocrite," reveals itself through inversions and bantering of opposites.

Walking early up into the Citty, he turnes into the great Church,  
and salutes one of the pillars on one knee, worshipping that God  
which at home he cares not for; while his eye is fixed on some  
window, on some passenger, and his heart knowes not whether

his lips goe. (Hall 171)

The opposition here is with inner and outer. From out in the city, he goes into the Church. From there, he worships the God who, outside (at home) he doesn't care for. His senses are also split from the rest of him. While he worships inside, his eye looks out the window, and while he speaks outwardly with his mouth, his heart is completely inattentive of his outwardly directed activity. And later, "Hee comes to the sicke bed of his stepmother, and weeps, when he secretly feares her recovery." It is tempting, as this is depicted as the first Vice, to interpret it personally for Hall. To pin it on Pride is more tempting, but it just doesn't seem to fit. He may suffer from pride, but we aren't given the focus on that aspect, nor are we shown the facet of his hypocrisy which we might call Avarice, though it is suggested by an insincere behavior. A personal interpretation might be available here. Though much of Hall's political and personal difficulties lay in the future at the writing of his *Characters*, (1608, in a relatively optimistic period of his life) he was still himself composed of numerous contradictions; a man with Puritan inclinations, preparing himself to advance in the hierarchy of the English church, a satirist who sincerely attempted to console and not offend, a scholar from relatively humble family background, forced to seek patronage from moral inferiors, and a man who perhaps lived in some inward fear of being found out to not suitably agree with prevailing thought. Perhaps Hall was writing his own *Character* to some extent, a man confined to act outwardly in a way that was compromising him inwardly. Is this a case of the Penitential monk, placing carnal sins above the others for the local benefit of his monastery? Though Humility was third in the list of virtues, and not first, it is a virtue that goes hand in hand with Wisdom, the first Virtue

of Hall's. If Hall is disguisedly flagellating himself in "The Hypocrite", he may be attaining those first three Virtues; Wisdom as he acknowledges his imperfection, Honesty as he list them, and Humility as he confesses to his God, and lets his sin be an example. The Hypocrite might with this thought be seen as proud, thinking he knows more or is deceiving those around him, who he must take for fools. The summary, given in established Character fashion, suggests further the identify of the Hypocrite. "In briefe, he is the stangers Saint,... and an Angell abroad, Devil at home; and worse when an Angell, then when a Devill." (172-173)

Religious Hypocrisy would certainly be bad in a parishioner, but in a vicar or preacher, it might very well constitute placement in the highest ranks of vice. The representation of Hypocrisy as the coupling of sets of two opposite extremes must have been structurally attractive to Hall, and because of Ramus and Aristotle, it must have resonated deeply in his hoard of learning, fashioning himself as a unifying medium for the intellectual genres of the past and present. But it is just as likely he felt himself subject to these extremes. Ramus' third syllogistic term and Aristotle's virtuous mean between two vices could be a man, caught between the his inner revelry, exposed perhaps in youthful writing, and the external extremes, sins that for Hall might have involved some aspect of political commitment. It is easy to see that Hall instilled in his experiments in form an aspect of morality, making form a variety of judgment over content.

Since these Vices were of social types, Hall drew them as he saw them, informed by what he knew of sin and the hierarchy of sin theologically. He knew, evidenced by his casuistical writing, of the practical necessity of dealing with vice, and the mechanics of sin's working. The order of his Virtues and Vices

might be viewed as less relevant than the dealing with sin at hand. As a working preacher, he would deal with specific problems, in the order of their relevance for the individual sufferer. Though some sins were obviously deeper than others, his parishioners didn't suffer from them necessarily in their order of severity. They suffered from what they suffered from. With that in mind, and a thought to Hall's practicality, it might be argued that order of Characters was largely an aesthetic choice, distributing variety and intensity for purposes of greater readability rather than reflecting theological significance. We are left to pick through the Characters, already established as social types, for sins, which in these Characters seem integrated as in the world. This effort for Hall would amount to distilling "pure" sins from the reality of life, and putting them in a theoretical though less functional order and self referenced setting, where they would ultimately be less instructive. Hall doesn't need this variety of order. Hall's order comes from his logical structures, his body of literary models and grammatical, stylistic choices. This observation leads us back then to the practicality of Hall's orders, the sins most important are the ones at hand, the ones then that he dealt with in his personal life. Hypocrisy as a self portrait and a portrait of his considerable concerns of opposite extremes again seems likely. Hall does say "hypocrisy comes nearest to virtue and is the worst of vices." He may be saying that it has an exterior face of goodness while the interior is in opposition, or, it is literally close to the religious and pious physical world of the church and clergy, and of course, without and within the cleric robes themselves. (Again, himself; when visiting Rome to observe Catholic ritual in the churches there, he wore plain outer garments to disguise his clerical robes beneath. Tourney 17) If we think deeply enough on the psychology of these Characters, we can see pride lurking beneath the surface. Pride in the godly is closest to the



devil's pride before the fall. This irony is perhaps the secret to "The Hypocrite." It is also worth remembering that Hall was considered, and considered himself, a contemporary Stoic, hence his title of English Seneca. It is also true that the Stoics valued self knowledge about all else. Such a self awareness would necessarily be dangerously close to a self love or self absorption, again a paraphrasing of the balance between Wisdom and "The Hypocrite." The greatest virtue runs the greatest risk of vanity. All of Hall's Characters of Vice may be seen as variations on excessive self-love or self-attention. "Of the Busie-body," for instance it is said his "estate is too narrow for his mind, & therefore he is faine to make himself roome in others affaires;..." (Hall 173) He regards his mind as so great that he must expand beyond his own natural borders. His self love is so great that he finds nothing outside of himself that suites him. The Malcontent's characteristics are mapped by means of a digressive positioning, in the form of a list that goes from one extreme to another, by saying the malcontent is neither this nor that:

He is neither well full nor fasting; and though he abound with complaints, yet nothing dislikes him but the present: for what he condemned while it was, once past he magnifies, and strives to recall it out of the Jawes of Time. What he hath, he sees not, his eyes are so taken up with what he wants; and what he sees he cares not for, because he cares so much for that which is not.

(Hall 178)

This method of listing goes on through the two pages of text of the Character in largely the same manner. What gives this Character its form is a diagonal toggling which we have seen in Aristotle, where the extremes of a topic do not fit, but neither does the mean, a condition which sends the writer

diagonally to another line of extremes and mean, looking for the resting place that will define the Character. The special irony of course is that it is just this toggling, this unrest and ill fit of definition that defines the Malcontent. The Malcontent's endless search for self satisfaction can never rest, and the long list that evasively defines him here is a testament to Hall's knack for fusing means with end, and content with form; a true unity of his disciplines. Hall has made the substance (or lack of) of his Character and made it work for him as a grammatical and structural rule of composition. The Malcontent is positively defined however as "head-strong" and selfe-willed", two proud aspects that seem to be his single driving force. As he never rests to claim any identify within the world, this ghost is perhaps as far as we can truthfully distinguish him as a type; he exists as a form with a shadow presence, as if Boyce's "shadowing" theory could not possibly apply, as there would be no personality to rest the "shadow lens" upon. There would perhaps be a lesser presence of Envy here, as we are qualifiedly told that "He is a slave to envie,..." (179) though it is at others good, which he yet doesn't see in them when he looks. His lack of satisfaction also suggests Gluttony ("When a present is sent to him, he askes, Is this all? And What, no better?" ... 178) though it is a Gluttony more based on an expansive view of himself, rather than a hunger.

It is easy to overemphasis the importance of Theophrastus in the composition of these sketches. Though he was obviously one principal model for Hall in these Characters, we mustn't forget the fact that Hall was a biblical scholar, and there was a great popularity of Proverbial wisdom at the pulpit. While Proverbs provided great pithy two part morals, they also provided thumbnail sketches of moral types:

10 Who can find a virtuous woman? For her price is far above rubies.

11 The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her, so that he shall have no need of spoil.

12 She will do him good and not evil all the days of her life.

13 She seeketh wool, and flax, and worketh willingly with her hands.

14 She is like the merchants' ships; she bringeth her food from afar.

15 She riseth also while it is yet night, and giveth meat to her household, and a portion to her maidens.

16 She considereth a field, and buyeth it: with the fruit of her hands she planteth a vineyard.

17 She girdeth her loins with strength, and strengtheneth her arms.

18 She perceiveth that her merchandise is good: her candle goeth not out by night.

19 She layeth her hands to the spindle, and her hands hold the distaff.

20 She stretcheth out her hand to the poor; yea, she reacheth forth her hands to the needy.

21 She is not afraid of the snow for her household: for all her household are clothed in scarlet.

22 She maketh herself coverings of tapestry; her clothing is silk and purple.

23 Her husband is known in the gates, when he sitteth among the elders of the land.

24 She maketh fine linen, and selleth it; and delivereth girdles

unto the merchant.

25 Strength and honour are her clothing; and she shall rejoice in time to come.

26 She openeth her mouth with wisdom; and in her tongue is the law of kindness.

27 She looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness.

28 Her children arise up, and call her blessed; her husband also, and he praiseth her.

29 Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all.

30 Favour is deceitful, and beauty is vain; but a woman that feareth the Lord, she shall be praised.

31 Give her of the fruit of her hands; and let her own works praise her in the gates.

(King James Bible Proverbs 30: 10-31)

Elsewhere in Proverbs we are also given a list of wicked things that God hates in man:

12 A naughty person, a wicked man, walketh with a froward mouth.

13 He winketh with his eyes, he speaketh with his feet, he teacheth with his finger;

14 Frowardness is in his heart, he deviseth mischief continually; he soweth discord.

15 Therefore shall his calamity come suddenly; suddenly shall he be broken without remedy.

16 These six things doth the Lord hate; yea seven are an

abomination unto him:

17 A proud look, a lying tongue, and hands that shed innocent blood,

18 An heart that deviseth wicked imaginations, feet that be swift in running to mischief,

19 A false witness that speaketh lies, and he that soweth discord among brethren.

(Proverbs 6: 12-19)

These two selections give us a Character sketch of the good woman which Hall would certainly have known, a sketch of the wicked man, and a list of sin, seven in number which could roughly be mapped into the seven deadly sins. A biblical scholar, of the Anglican persuasion, with Puritan leanings, might be inclined to follow the Bible first before the theological impositions of the Catholic church, suggesting further a rather liquid perception of any hierarchy of the sins. The Characters of the good woman and the wicked man both fall into a common Character pattern of achieving their effect through the even-handed accumulation of detail. The last of the good and wicked list caps the other details in a natural summary having more to do with the exhaustion of things to say.

One more biblical quote might prove suggestive here, this one from the New Testament, and the speaker is Jesus:

6 He answered and said unto them, Well hath Esaias prophesied of you hypocrites, as it is written, this people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me..

7 howbeit in vain do they worship me, teaching for  
doctrines the commandments men do..

8 For laying aside the commandments of God, ye hold the  
traditions of men, as the washing of pots and cups; and many  
other such like things ye do.

15 There is nothing from without a man, that entering into him  
can defile him: but the things which come out of him, those are  
they that defile the man.

20 And he said, That which cometh out of the man defileth the man.

21 For from within, out of the heart of men, proceed evil thoughts,  
adulteries, fornications, murders,

22 Thefts, covetousness, wickedness, deceit, lasciviousness, an  
evil eye, blasphemy, pride, foolishness;

23 All these evil things come from within, and defile the man.

(Mark 7: 6-8, 15, 20-23)

Christ identifies the hypocrisy of religious tradition in no uncertain terms.

The "washing of pots and cups" is especially significant, as it appears this observance  
of man's ritual may have been a hidden target of Halls "Hypocrite" among others.

Christ's listing of man's inward sins also give powerful support to Hall's understanding  
of the inward life. As the responsible Stoic, looking inwardly for personal  
understanding of his world, that the sins should be erupting from there speaks  
to Hall's own perceptions of the personal nature of sin, and the two-sidedness of a man,  
the world of action and of intellect, by him meaning all inner activity of a thoughtful  
and spiritual nature.

That man can only defile himself is also a notion that would have

appealed to Hall's Stoic senses. It is interesting too that the sins Christ lists are all social crimes; though coming from within, they are criminally directed toward others. Again, as religious hypocrisy precedes this list, one can gather that this highly personal experience of God, or, lack of, invites all those evils into the self, from where they bloom outward into the world. Evil after all flies to where God is blasphemed or mocked. (see Marlowe's Doctor Faustus and the conjuring of Mephostophilis in act I scene iii) Hall would have seen this scene as beginning with a human corruption of the microcosm, of the absence of grace, and ending in the actions that filled the world with sin. Though Hall's Characters all suffer with conditions that are internal, remember that they are all depicted as distinct social types, who ultimately exhibit external behaviors, manifesting their true spiritual conditions.

Thomas Nashe used the Character to give a form to worldly observations, special pleadings of his overactive spirit, and quick order to the spontaneous chaos of London city and street life. Not inwardly directed, Nashe's use of this form was more in the "type" tradition, the quick sort of analysis that was more a fast clinical assessment. Unlike Hall's Characters, Nashe's weren't labored, abstracted exercises in mind over model. For Nashe, it was the world of events that was labored over. What Nashe wanted to capture in the Characters embedded in his prose writings was the face and speed of his external life among society of men and women. The subject was that of a realist. Caught in the stream as it were, this participation in the world meant his writing needed certain set forms. It could be argued that many of these formulas were his own, such as the journalistic aspects, and the controversies of his pamphlets. Yet within Nashe's wild extravagances and appropriations of style, there was a conservatism as well.

It is not enough to say that Nashe was lampooning the form of the Character. His satires were of types he saw. In his Characters, their features were distorted and their maladies of spirit worn on their sleeves in some metaphorical way. He might be termed an Essential Realist, as he distilled from experience and made a quick draught of it as caricature. A caricature could be a more accurate assessment than a studied portrait, more "realistic." So through conformity to the Character's conventions, Nashe contained bursting identity, the living representative of the types he was standardizing as quickly as he could write them. Nashe's use of the Character was for spontaneous ordering of chaos, as his mental life and his active outer life were seemingly very close. Nashe's necessity of the moment was to always keep these worlds just slightly askew from each other. The Character with its package of potentials made for a relatively thoughtless use; an ideal form to draw the daily apparitions into.

Thomas Nashe was born in 1567 to William Nashe, a minister of Lowestoft, Suffolk. After six years the Nashes moved to West Harling, Norfolk, where the elder William was the rector until his death in 1587. Thomas Nashe's nearest school was at Thetford, some distance from him, so he probably received his early education from his father.

The next we hear of Nashe is as a sizar at St. John's College in 1582. In 1586 he was at the Lady Margaret Foundation where he received his Bachelor of Arts degree and continued toward his Masters, from which he withdrew in 1588 without receiving his degree.

After this education, Nashe decided to join others from Oxford and Cambridge who wanted to make their livings in London with their pens. His first publication was the preface to Greene's Menaphon. In this very first piece of published writing,



he began a career long battle with Gabriel Harvey when he used his name (though in a complimentary fashion, listing him among the great English writers) without permission. Ridiculed by Harvey's brother Richard in a pamphlet, he was later criticized by Harvey himself in Four Letters and Certain Sonnets. This controversy, along with his involvement with the satirical anti-Martinist Pamphlets, (responses to Martin's pamphlets which criticized the Church of England from a Puritan perspective) may have led Nashe down his path of satirical writing style. The anti-Martinist pamphlets did get him a measure of notoriety. (McGinn 16-17) Nashe learned how to imitate the satirical style of the pamphlets to answer them on their own terms. Written in common language and colloquial style, Nashe's early pamphlet writings established his journalistic qualities nearly from the start. By the time Nashe wrote Pierce Penniless, his style was set and confident.

Pierce Penniless begins with an Epistle, said to be a private letter between the Author and the Printer. This Epistle explains and denies authorship of certain pamphlets written in imitation of Nashe, as well as confronting his critics. The verbose writing style, as well as the lighthearted explication of the dilemmas and writerly problems of the author remind us that in some way, Nashe is presenting himself as Pierce Penniless, or perhaps, Pierce Penniless is being presented as himself only thinly disguised. The occasion of the letter is the second printing of Pierce Penniless, which Nashe has been only recently aware was being reset. His surprise in the form of the letter, and his anger at not being informed so as corrections might be made and completion of "unfinished" parts might be affected allow him to dismiss himself from responsibility, and even criticize the work himself. Nashe's published anger at the condition of his book's publication creates two situations or relationships simultaneously. First, the epistolary

frame gives the work an essence or quality of artifact, an object being handled as a thing by the various people in its chain of manufacture. The notion of a writing as a child of the author is exploded- in fact here, it is nearly illegitimate- Nashe denies it as his because of its faults, allowed to go uncorrected by the irresponsible and ignorant world into which it has been thrown. He further explores that world into which it has gone, a world of imitators and other scribbling progenitors (Greene) who reproduce their own artifacts which take their place along side Nashe's faulty own. In this way Nashe begins an offhand presentation of the notion of identity, its associated notion of authenticity and the line between fiction and autobiography, and perhaps even the function of progeny.

The introduction of the text as object in the world represents an abstracted but applied exploration of the capacities of the Character itself. Its form may be read into the outer structuring of Pierce Penniless. The struggle of all work of the mind is put into the context of the individual authors and texts (the true character) plight, even down to the contemporary field of reference replete with names and history. The text as a character might be called "The Helpless Sire of Circumstance" or "The Bastard Child Among the Wolves."

Secondly, in addition to the artifact and extended Character qualities projected onto the text by an epistolary introduction, a letter works as a unifying factor that draws us toward the text relatively easily, and without the initial suspension of belief necessary. We are already eased into what follows by the hybrid "Character" Nashe presents himself as, which is the behind the scenes author and participant in the profession (not one untypical criterion for a Character) of writing, and, as we discover, a scribe not unlike his Character, Pierce Penniless, the writer victimized by the world of indifference, and, perhaps Nashe is suggesting, like him

driven to an unsavory audience/ readership.

Pierce Penniless is of course itself nothing but a study of a character in the form of a rather wide frame with some detail of his life but particularly his work, his profession, in the form of the writings contained within the frame.

While "Pride" is explored as a set of national/ racial types (Spaniard, Italian, French) other sins are arranged in a more hit or miss fashion, and in a more jagged form. "The Complaint of Envy" (Nash 80) is followed two segments later with "Murder the Companion of Envy", which is followed directly by "The Complaint of Wrath, Branch of Envy". Elsewhere, (p.67) Pride is additionally exploited. "The Pride of the Learned" is followed by "Artificers", "Merchants Wives", and "Peasants sprung from nothing." There is an offhandedness about this set. At some points we are drawn back from the text to see the writer at his craft (or craftiness) such as he performs it. Where it seems we are given content by a kind of rote or formula, we see the Character Pierce Penniless, the scribe madly continuing his task for perhaps his last imagined audience, and If we draw back further, we see Nashe himself in Penniless dressing. What this visualization does is abstractly construct a typical Character perimeter. Penniless is the fiction, the specific illustration of the point to be made, while Nashe, the writer in the more generalized reality, the in-the-world aspect that makes the Character both a specific fictive illustration and a moral truism, illustrated actively in the world of men. The fact that the content of the text is frequently the Character form is intentionally ironic and reflective.

Though Nashe extends the parameters of the Character to encompass the persona of Pierce Penniless, he also provides us with more typical Characters, and some of them as personifications of the deadly sins.

Greediness is first in Nashe's own order of the sins. Famine, Lent and Desolation are said to "sit in onion-skinned jackets before the door of his endurance," where greed is imprisoned by his own appetites. Famine, Lent and Desolation act as a chorus we are told, "to tell Hunger and Poverty there is no relief for them there."

Greediness is said to be in the inner part of "this ugly habitation." We are given no more description of the dwelling, but we can imagine it is an empty, cold and dark dungeon or latrine. Greed's physical description is both vague (you are given no features of appearance) yet specific in regard to his comportment. He is warmly hooded (in "muscovy" fashion) so all his energy of heat may be retained by him. His clothing ornaments are made of fish-hooks, to hook onto "those to whom he shows any humbleness." His breeches are elaborately composed of notices of forfeiture and various notices of foreclosure for debt. The Usurer is suggested in this, as well as making the landowner or landlord suspect, suggesting how he might have come to such wealth.

Greediness is coupled with Niggardize, his wife. She is clothed in sedge mat, wears an apron made of old almanacs, and wears a pudding pan for a hat, ornamented with fingernail clippings. They, like their foods, are consumable and therefor dissipated by both hunger and stinginess. Even the rats find "but emptiness and vastity," and the spider and dust-weavers leave for the country. Greediness is at the top of Nashe's list of sins, and gets his most imaginative treatment. Greed is a couple, who are just too awful to be contained by a single entity. They are depicted as monsters, truly the sins which they depict, rather than illustrations of sufferers from

moral ills. These creatures are the ills. The depiction is patently absurd, yet one can't help but remind oneself that these were different times from today, and the emphasis that seems like absurdity to us might have been much slighter once. Extreme wealth contrasted with poverty, health with sickness, and many unchecked maladies of the body and fear of the unknown might have brought about the variety of madness we see and determine as absurd depictions in Nashe. To the Londoner, the sense of what Nashe depicts would have been understood. In this, Nashe's writing is reportage. In a close and condensed city, the wealthy did live amid squallor, and, in their own way, the wealthy lived in their own variety of poverty, coveting their belongings and hiding their wealth.

Pride is next in Nashe's sequence. It is broken down into a number of subdivisions, first general, (the Nature of an Upstart) and professional (the counterfeit Politician), then followed by an alternating of these two types again. ("The Prodigal Young Master", followed by "The Pride of the Learned.") Nashe refers to these alternations and divisions of Pride as the "suburbs" of Pride. (Nashe 68) This casual remark reveals his own superimposition of place upon his treatment of characters. They are suburbs of the central Characters of London he will go on to address, and, satirically, suburbs of the great decaying city, though, of course, these Characters are just as city-trapped as the rest.

Several more Characters alternate and are mixed in relevant ways. "The Pride of Merchant's Wives" gives us Mistress Minx who has taken on airs and finical behavior because of her associated husband's accumulation of wealth. The next, "The Pride of Peasants sprung up of Nothing" regard a type who is drawn outside of his class to associations with a more noble type, through

his own means, described as “mechanical trades” that prove of use to the well seated. The trades of Nashe must include singing; the crying of “Ave Caesar” by a trained bird is mentioned. He further degrades the mechanical skills with “some men’s vices have power to advance them,” and compares these insults with the lack of reward for the “seven liberal sciences” of the scholar. The character that follows, “The Base Insinuating of Drudges and their Practice to Aspire” seems to be a continuation of the previous Character, as if Nashe is, or wants it to appear he is on a roll or a tirade. The Drudge we are told is one who will filch his way into service of a noble man. He seems to be a rung below the “Peasant” who sprang from nothing, as he has no skills of body or mind whatsoever, and advances either by bribe or flattery. Types based on trades and professions are clearly related to estate literature, where association with function defines them. These examples alternate with a more humoural type, in which a certain behavior and temperament drives the Characters to the various roles, if function is even considered significant to the purpose of the Character. “The Nature of an Upstart” and “The Prodigal Young Master” both focus on a disproportionate sense of self in behavior. “The Prodigal Young Master” is driven to the adventure of the sea by his lust for gold and wanting not to be like his peasant family, a career, though an unsuccessful one, chosen because of a predisposition. It is important, in terms of understanding Nashe’s approach, to notice that here, this alternating effect between behavior or humoural type and profession or estate is associated with and under the sin of Pride. The unsynthesized or ununified quality of Nashe’s approach here might be the means by which he paradoxically explicates the sin of Pride, in his own enthusiastic and seeming disordered dichotomizing method.

An additional and distinct set of characters follows. They are as they first appear, a series of racial generalizations and stereotypes. This interpretation is the reactionary response that might be the case on a surface level but not the point in a larger context. The titles themselves should defer such a quick and tidy reading. "The Pride of the Spaniard", "The Pride of the Italian", "The Pride of the Frenchman" and "The Pride of the Dane" are all short and descriptive though not without rudeness or insult that in itself seems racial. Yet this is a satirical listing of the pride of national types who are being regarded in the old estate observance of chivalry and play, where courtesy and insult may go hand in hand and often in the extremity of the observance of rules of engagement and courtesy, the same. The last paragraph of "The Base Insinuating of Drudges and their practices to Aspire" functions as a transition into the Nationalities section and serves several other purposes as well. This is the sentence: "This is that which I urge; there is no friendship to be had with him that is resolute to do or suffer anything rather than to endure the destiny whereto he was born; for he will not spare his own father or brother, to make himself a gentleman." Nashe allies himself firmly with the English class system, rooted in feudalism and flowering in the estate system, finally shifting into the early forms of Capitalism that validated aspiration.

Nashe shows us the people of London streets and outskirts, those who suffer predominantly from the direct and indirect results of Greed. Greed is the immediate and pressing sin. Nashe feels free to react to the conditions of the moment. He shows us the pressing order of sins, with Greed first. Greed is a domestic problem; the "foreign" types that follow suffer from Pride. Though Londoners are also depicted as proud, foreigners are only proud. The change in order might

not be what it seems. Though Greed is listed first, the sufferers are the English, those he observes daily. Though the top of his list and concern, they may be suffering from a lesser sin than those that follow, the foreigner, who suffer from what he may still consider the worst of sins, Pride. It is a matter of perspective. Greed is the worst sin for him.

In the brief Characters on ethnic or national types, Nashe's satire achieves a level of naturalism where the form virtually writes itself, the knowledge of the type can be assumed to be so ingrained. The specificity is applied by the reader or hearer, who shuffles through his mind for familiarity or a person who fits the levels of description supplied by the Character. By nature of its form, the Character is about the process of prejudicing and categorizing persons.

There is a freshness to the ethnic identifying which is not apparent in the other Characters. This vitality might be explained by the natural vitality of hate for the foreign or different. A further example of this can be seen in the failure of the cardinal virtues to catch on in the public imagination in the same way as the seven deadly sins, though even the sins lack the drive of an ethnic focus. The sins as depicted must still exhibit restraint. The victim must still be pitiable. The Character as an ethnic slur has within it the venomous vitality of hate, boxed into the larger pious reference to the sin of Pride. Remember that the larger form is a supplication to the devil, not to God. This reversal may shed light on the inversion of some of the sins as well. Nashe doesn't talk to God, he addresses the devil. Inverting the sins may serve an incantation not unlike speaking scripture backwards. Also, the fact that Nashe sees fit to reorder the sins for his own purposes, and to put Greediness first, out of



traditional order, might show a disrespect for established religion as the mouthpiece of God. And to put oneself over God is Pride, the first sin in the traditional order. Pierce Penniless feels put upon by the world, that he is beneath his deserving lot. This is a lack of humility that he himself identifies as an Italian trait, but here, (Pride of the Italian) he inverts humility, and makes it a sin, by saying the Italian “seems to take pride in Humility.” Nashe is guilty of attempting to neutralize both sin and virtue, an attempt to escape consequence for a life and for actions (In the life of Pierce Penniless of course). We see a closeness to the conjuring of Marlowe’s Faust as well. There is a difference that is notable in the nature of the conjuring, however. While Marlowe conjures the devil from hell, and later, the tableau is conjured by the devil in hell to placate Faust, Nashe conjures his vices from his own mind, in an attempt to seduce the devil to his (Nashe’s) ends. Not to mention it is a curious turn of a traditional or conventional image; it also points to the two views of sin as being the external assault by demons, and sin as being the inner battle of fallen human nature. Moreover, Nashe has taken himself out of the world by being a biting observer. As the referee or the gumshoe journalist, he calls them as he sees them, regardless of who may receive his barbs.

Envy follows Pride in Nashe. Envy is a “lusty old gentleman, that will wink and laugh and jest drily, as if he were the honestest of a thousand.” (Nashe, p. 80) Envy is the son of Pride. He pretends to care for others but would like to prevent the success of anyone else. Nashe then gives us a living example of Envy. He is Philip of Spain, who now wants France and Belgium. (McGinn 38)

Wrath is next, characterized as one not respecting of any, hateful of all who seem against him. He is a "hare-brained little Dwarf, with a swarth visage, that hath his hart at his tongues end,..." (Nashe 85)

Eventually, after a long digression which covered stories about butchers, soldiers, Poets and even the silver tongued preacher John Smith, Nashe introduces Sloth. He is depicted first as a result of idleness and spending time and money at dicing-house, or bowling alley, or a good whorehouse. But the image that Nashe settles on for Sloth is that of a

Stationer that I know, with his thumb under his girdle, who if a man come to his stall and ask for a book, never stirs his head, or looks upon him, but stands stone still, and speaks not a word: only with his little finger points backwards to his boy, who must be his interpreter, and so all the day, gaping like a dumb image, he sits without motion, except at such times as he goes to dinner or supper: for then he is as quick as other three, eating six times every day. (Nashe 109)

Lechery is last, described as able to make a man wicked to describe it. Lechery dwells in the suburbs, spreading venereal disease about lewd London.

Journalistic aspects, depicting real people and street life of London, with the satiric intent, and the use of broad categories and commonplaces regarding types of people give the Characters that emerge an uneven but truer-than-life quality. Just as caricature captures truth with exaggerated though specific and real features, (a nose, bulging eyes) Nashe's Characters have a touch of the extreme exaggeration and the immediately identifiable

quality. Where Earle and Hall may both in their own ways effectively create Characters that elicit an internal and reflective response, Nashe gives us externals that make our knees jerk in immediate and nearly tactile recognition. His racism may be stereotypical, but his ( or Pierce Penniless') are the petty hatreds of real people of the day, and if his opinions seem propagandistic and hardly what we would call representative, they are the propaganda of a man of extreme passion and desperation.

Here Menander may be recalled. In an article on The Relation of the English "Character" to its Greek Prototype, by Edward Chauncey Baldwin published in the PMLA in 1961, the Greece of Menander is compared to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century in England. Baldwin suggests that both periods suffered from a general decay in which we may see, through the arts, the turning from the more imaginative, creative period to one of analysis. This ebb and flow viewpoint has a decidedly negative sound, as we imagine both periods were in creative arts of lesser quality. He writes,

In both cases the transition was from the display of character in action to the consideration of character in and for itself, and in both cases the explanation is the same, namely, that the creative was giving place to the analytic spirit. (Baldwin 414)

He continues to describe the ages as ones of more interest in the exhibition than in the development of character. In Menander's time this change constituted the New Comedy. However, this decay seems more a matter of taste in the artistic realm. New Comedy dispensed with the by then hackneyed use of the Gods as representative of human experience and replaced it with realistic domestic situations and people with real names. Nashe's developments had leanings that pointed to

as yet nonexistent forms. Hibbard wrote, "Nashe's bent was for journalism and, perhaps, for the novel which was ultimately to grow out of journalism" and "The literary forms in which Nashe might have excelled did not yet exist. (Hibbard 251)

In an article on the use of the Character for historical purposes, Chester Noyes Greenough quoted a set of rules from *The Scholars Guide from the Accidence to the University* by Ralph Johnson, a textbook published in London in 1665. These rules and definition outlined the Character for students of the day. The quote is as follows:

A character is a witty and facetious description of the nature and qualities of some person, or not of people.

1. Chuse a Subject, viz. Such a sort of men as will admit of variety of observation, such be drunkards, usurers, lyars taylors, exercise-men, travellers, peddlers, merchants, tapsters lawyers, an upstart gentleman, a young Justice, a Constable, an Alderman, and the like.
2. Express their natures, qualities, conditions, practices, tools desires, aims, or ends, by witty Allegories, or Allusions, to things or terms in nature, or art, of like nature and resemblance, still striving for wit and pleasantness, together with tart nipping jerks about their vices or miscarriages.
3. Conclude with some witty and neat passage, leaving them to the effect of their follies or studies.

(Greenough 123-124)

In the ninth edition of the Overbury collection of Characters, dated 1616, we have the following:

To square out a character by our English levell it is a picture  
(reall or personal) quaintly drawne, in various colours, all of them  
heightened by one shadowing.

It is a quick and soft touch of many strings, all shutting up in  
one musicall close; it is wits descant on any plaine song.

(Greenough 36)

While the Johnson quote shows a measured form as it had become reabsorbed into rhetoric and grammar of the seventeenth century, the Overbury definition offers us a Character that, though distinctly enough directed, may be a place or thing as well as a person. This very broad view regarding what would seem to be a necessary constriction does more to highlight, like the “shadowing”, what both the object and origin of the character through time really concerns. It is a way toward a particular kind of orderliness, a way which some practitioners will illustrate more authentically and intentionally than others.

In Order and History, by Eric Voegelin, vol. III he presents Aristotle’s types as described in the Rhetoric as leading to Theophrastus, the father of the character, from a slightly different perspective than we have examined previously, but for purposes of looking at John Earle’s understanding of Character, it is appropriate. Voegelin describes Characters as working in a dimension of “potentiality-actualization, (362) where the failure, perversion or imperfection of a flawless type is its actualization, where the type becomes a human individual. Though the fact of a perfect type and its less-than-perfect fit or manifestation became a systematic problem for Aristotle, the ambivalence of the model’s existence was merely set

aside, and the Character constructed despite this imperfection by Theophrastus, who sought more simply to explore human behavior and nature. It is this plowing forward on the part of Theophrastus that made his exemplar Characters even more deeply entrenched in a potentiality- actualization band; gradation toward perfect realization of a theoretical model could lead to infinite variety and detail, while retaining a clear and uncorrupted target image over which to impose each actualization. The intention is then a drive toward a unity of real and imagined that, as the life it imitates, tends to spin off infinite variations while retaining integrity of the species; in short, it is nearly analogous to biological reproduction, conceptually, and with a fair amount of second guessing, the living matter's motivations. Yet it is a simple freedom we see in Overbury's definition of Character that comes close to this ideal, which concedes the possibility of a thingness or place to Characters by means of a vagueness, and not the dry, textbook application of Johnson's description.

In Voegelin's Autobiographical Reflections, he confesses a deep effect on his life and thought when he read seventeenth century French thinker Jean Bodin's Method for the Easy Comprehension of History. What he shared with Bodin was the sense of mission and a view of history, particularly ancient and its influence, as an extremely misunderstood mass of documents and arts. Perhaps Vico brings to focus what these other two historians restrained from saying, because of a hesitancy regarding truth and accuracy. (Vico also expressed debt to Bodin, and his work can be seen at least in part an extension of it) In New Science, Vico offered the horrifying theory that civilization was truly progressive, that the later a civilization was the more sophisticated, and that the ancients, including the Greeks, were barbarians. Poetry, the language of verse was the result of

inarticulateness, and not refinement. The creation of types, for him represented attempts to understand without reference to particular cases of merit. The very language of verse was an example of inappropriateness because of simplicity. What Vico was most critical of was seventeenth and eighteenth century scholarly worship of ancient texts and histories. He felt it simply uninformed, romantic and unscientific. The most useful interpretation for us is that vague and imprecise use of both language and concepts was a general state of early culture.

Though from a scientific point of view, there is still a positive widening effect I would identify as makes one think deeply from one's own experience, similar to a psychological effect known as "completion," something that takes place when incomplete and partial memories are "filled in" or out by the unconscious mind. The impression causing my "widening" can be seen in the argument for Hippocratic writings that dealt with effects of climate and environment that were so general in nature as to be virtually false, but yet filling the need to have a medical handbook of any content, just to get the young physician out there and practicing, hence building thorough practice a lifetime of useful personal observation and experience in treating sickness, a judgment augmented by life. Dogma, falseness of dogmas, and then awareness of the falsehood seems an effective means of advancement for all fields, and is at least most natural. Size and scope come to life in John Earle's Microcosmographie. The Hippocratic Corpus contained amassed diagnosis', descriptions and treatments as an empirical collection of data, in the same way Earle gave us Characters that were persons, places and things. Working hand in hand with this conception the big world data collected was the microcosm, the universe as represented in the smallest, or outer projected within.

It is with some irony that I find a quote in Vico that could have been plucked from Galen, and consequently, Hippocrates, from works earlier explored in this paper:

Why are there as many vernacular languages as there are different people? To solve this problem, we may establish the following great truth. Different climates clearly produce peoples with different natures and different customs, and these in turn produce different languages. Nations with different natures view what is necessarily and useful to human life under different aspects. This produces different and even opposite customs, and at the same time different languages, which therefore vary according to their origins. Proverbs offer us distinct proof of this.

(Vico 182)

This quote shows us a quick and somewhat convincing view of culture as simply set on its way to sophistication by circumstances of necessity. Here too he has been inclusive of creative forms, and offers religious texts and histories as obvious evidence. Crucial words for us here would be “aspects” and “Proverbs.” Proverbs we have seen as a component of the Character, just as “aspects” usually functions as elements in a list of behaviors or characteristics.

With these stirrings, we can more effectively look to John Earle’s Microcosmographie, and see also how he differs from his relatively contemporary Character writers.

John Earle was born in 1600 and attended Christ’s Church, Oxford at fifteen, taking a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1619, and a Master of Arts from Merton College in 1642. After becoming a University Proctor, he came under the patronage



of Lord Pembroke, and from there, became a familiar of royal society. He took his Doctorate of Divinity degree in 1642, and was soon offered a position by Parliament in the reorganizing of the church. This attests to the general respect he commanded, even though he was a known royalist. He declined the position, eventually fleeing the country and returning at the Restoration, when he took a number of positions in quick succession, leading to the Bishopric of Worcester in 1662 and Salisbury in 1663. He died at Oxford in 1665.

Earle was known to have written poems and Elegies while still in his teens, but he would become and remain known as the author of *Characters*, as Microcosmographie, published in 1628, though already circulated as manuscript. Many high and pious men attested to Earle's goodness. White Kennet, Bishop of Peterborough said Earle was honoured and admired by all who knew him. (Earle intro. Harold Osborne xii)

The Microcosmographie was originally published by Edward Blount. Blount was known for publishing Marlowe's Hero and Leander, Montaigne's *Essays* in Florio's translation, and Don Quixote, translated by Shelton. No authorship was printed on the Microcosmographie, so the early popular assumption was that it was written by Blount. Earle's name never appeared in subsequent editions until after his death. Yet, his talents were so recognized, that fellow scholars and acquaintances were aware of his authorship.

Microcosmographie went through three printings in the first year of publication. The early editions contained fifty-four Characters. In the 1629 fifth edition, twenty-three Characters were added, with one last Character put at the end of the sixth edition, making the total seventy-eight Characters.

The choice of the title Microcosmographie is consistent with Earle's

broad palette and fearless drawing together of materials from ancient to modern. As we saw in earlier examples of the depictions of virtues and vices, both Prudentius and then John Lydgate personified good and bad as warring armies on a battlefield that was inside man. Microcosm was the term given for the little world of man, the creature who contained a representation of the universe in his person. The widely read Ben Jonson made two references to Prudentius in his Every Man in His Humour, the play that was arguably the first modern English use of the Character. Though given in dramatic form, its depiction of spoiled youth and clever servant could have come from the Characters of Theophrastus, or the descriptions of Aristotle. In this play, the characters, or natures are given reference to by way of the humours that determine them. The title of the play makes for a double meaning, as well as the surface title in the way that Microcosmographie can mean an all encompassing wholeness of smallest parts, and a title for a collection of Characters. The effect is that the title raises the value of the individual Characters to a cosmic scale of universal allusion. This too plays upon the continual dichotomy between the individual and the representational, the potential-actualization given us by Voegelin. For Jonson, "Humour" is synonymous with and extension of character simultaneously. A mention of "Symmachus epistles" in Act III, scene I, line 29, and a curse of "well, sirrah, you, Holofernes..." in Act III, scene ii, line 115 are there to remind us that Jonson knows his stuff; Symmachus was a Roman statesman who wanted to bring back the idols of the gods to the senate building. Prudentius wrote a critical and satiric poem in response. The reference to Holofernes is a reference to the Book of Judith and the mention of it in Prudentius' Psychomachia. So Jonson tells us in passing that he knows the origins of materials he uses, and that they are so

synthesized into his thinking that he can integrate them into dialog for their good as secondary means to illustrate the situation at hand. Jonson will not bog himself down with theoretical difficulties. And neither will Earle. Earle's use of Microcosmographie is calculated but not for purposes of creating a theoretical difficulty. Where Hall's proverbial slant and moral focus caused him to interpret Theophrastus rather than know him (though he professed to think he followed his examples) it was Earle who fell much closer to the intent and range. Theophrastus, in addition to the Characters, was a writer of science, and particularly, botanical taxonomy. It is tempting to see Characters as at least partly force of habit; brief descriptions of specimens, their impacts and environments, not unlike his plants. Aristotle's conceptual difficulties we have already explored might not have bothered Theophrastus as much. This may be a backward glancing insight we can draw from Earle and his unhampered, naturally handled collection of Characters.

Though Earle gives us a wide range of topics, even straying from the subject of people, he retains the form throughout. His Characters conjure a picture. They are all brief, with one particular "shadowing." They produce a single impression, so as to seem to have a point. They formulate type and behavior. They use analogy, sometimes containing anecdotes. These are the concrete values. The subjects themselves are abstractions. A thing or place can fit his definition as well as a man or woman.

This is not to say that content for Earle is without meaning. On the contrary, his abstraction allows him to explore in a very uninhibited way, within his set format. There is an evenhandedness in his studies that help them survive combination of vice, virtue, humours and ages. To see this evenhandedness at work, and to understand its effect it is useful to take his Characters and group them under

headings that distinguish them by their predominant “shadowing.” Interestingly, we are given several Characters in the form of locations. For places, we are given A Prison”, “A Tavern”, “A Bowl-Alley”, and “Paul’s Walk.”

The first description of the prison is “It is the graveyard of the living where they are shut up from the world and their friends...” (A Prison) What we discover is that the “Prison” study is really about the prisoners, though the study that appears to be about the prison soon illustrates how a place can can through oppressive influence truly be the source and maker of the dweller’s behaviors. The prisoner is made what he is by the environment and condition he is forced into. This curious “geography makes the man” we can recall from Hippocrates and his types based on dwelling place, as well as, after Earle, Vico’s conception of the formative powers of place and nations. While in life, prisoners were “Nireus, which Therites, which the Beggar, and which the Knight;...” they are all brought to one thread-bare poverty here, without distinction of worldly achievement, estate or natural temperament. Here they show “like so many wrecks upon the sea.” They are all, despite the relics of a doublet without buttons, brought to one common estate: the prisoner. Their complaints despite their background are predictable and the same. They “rail on fortune and fool themselves,...Mirth here is stupidity or hard-heartedness, yet they feign it sometimes to slip melancholy and keep off themselves from themselves, and the torment of thinking what they have been.” (Earle 26) Other indications are that this place converges disparate types into a single, uniform type. “Men see here much sin and much calamity; and where the last does not mortify, the other hardens;...” But the greatest horror is reserved for last. This place that hardens is likened to a school that puts upon all a “hard thought,” which is that though wisdom may be gained here, it is too late,

and the prison is a place that dooms all men interred there, and makes of them one man, one type, with one behavior, one motivation, and one hard last thought. If the prison itself is a reversed microcosmos, then the prisoners are the troubled soul of the body.

The working of "The Prison may be said to manifest a different psychology from "The Tavern." And the psychological is a suitable perspective from which to view place in Earle's Microcosmic system. Place in Earle's Characters is presented as entities that share or impose personality traits upon the occupants. While the prison is offensive and inflexible, being in itself a mandatory state of confinement and submission, the tavern presents a state where men may be just as doomed by their own liberality, and the freedom of behavior the tavern seems to allow. We are told early in the description that the rooms are "not furnished with beds apt to be defiled, but more necessary implements, stools, table, and chamber-pot." The explanation is necessary to reveal to us a simple nature; in another place, we might expect to find such rooms put to use for rest, such as in a boarding house or Inn. But, though the building itself may seem to imply invitation, the atmosphere is one of such freedom from restraint, that sleep or rest have no place. No beds here, only simple means with which to stay away from sleep, to sit up in conversing, tables on which to place the mugs of beer, and means to relieve the body of its consumption. "Tis the best theatre of natures, where they are truly acted, not played,..." The tavern is a living theatre, where, as in the dramatic theatre, action offstage is brought on in dialogue and plans for future intrigues. The tavern as such is a neutral ground, but in its moral flatness, it allows debacle and immoral activity as much as merriment. "A melancholy man would find here matter to work upon,..." If the prison is Hell, the tavern is

closer to a Purgatory, where men may hope, but left to their own fallen human judgment, may find themselves damned. In the true style of a character, the tavern ends in a summation:

To give you the total reckoning of it, it is the busy man's recreation, the idle man's business, the melancholy man's sanctuary, the stranger's welcome, the Inn-of-Court man's entertainment, the scholar's kindness, and the citizen's courtesy."

(Earle 32)

In other words, "The Tavern" is presented as the perfect antidote to what ails every man at any moment in his need-filled life. Each "type" shown gets just what is required for his unique suffering, despite the fact that the tavern is merely some rooms, tables, stools, chamber pots and beer. Here, the abstraction of place I credit Earle with developing uniquely manifests itself. This one distinguishable place is a universal many places, while also being completely indistinct, a single place, the focal point of the illusions of its various visitors. The prison makes the man. The tavern is made by the man, but it is a prison without bars where men may leave, but as their greatest weaknesses are satisfied, they find no earthly reason to stir. As the pious might have it, it is simply a variant of one of the devil's many traps.

A "Bowl-Alley" illustrates a variety of sins, the most emphasized or shadowed being gambling. For love of gambling here follows other sins. Clever metaphors of bowling are used such as throwing of a bowl to the throwing away of "time, money, and curses." It is also a school for shortened tempers, where men will "cavil" over little instead of settling by drawing straws. "It is the best discovery of humours," we are told, "...where you have fine variety

of impatience, whilst some fret, some rail, some swear, and others more ridiculously comfort themselves with philosophy." "Philosophy" here is a reference to the larger field of knowledge of which the four tempers is a part. It is ironic that philosophy is a comfort for some, while those around them suffer from this philosophy manifest, ie., the tempers in imbalance. The Bowl-Alley is further described as 'the emblem of the world, or the world's ambition: where most are short or over, or wide, or wrong bias, and some few justle in to the Mistress, Fortune.' The emblem is as particular a form as the Character. It had a similar span of popularity, though beginning a little sooner. It had some of the same formal distinctions. It was strongly allegorical, containing in addition to a verbal explanation, a visual element as well, an etching or woodcut. Earle is cleverly nesting his references here, giving us a metaphor for a place (the world) which is itself a place (the alley), and true to his abstraction of place conception, the world is given the character aspect of ambition (pride) the top of the list of seven deadly sins. He follows this with terms from the sport of Bowls, with an obvious nod to the reader, who, knowing such terminology, must surely be a Bowler himself. The significance of the emblem reference lies in the transformation of place to near entity status. The visual emblem would be a line of scripture, transformed into allegorical relationship of creatures and objects in a meaningful environment. This construct was followed by an additional explanation or verse which would help the viewer to interpret it. Earle's transformation of place within the context of the character is in much the same representational realm. His "place", the Bowl-Alley is colored by the sins, as direct failings or imbalances of the tempers, as he has told us. If the tempers are in imbalance here, the only explanation can be that it is the cause of the place itself, as nothing

is really told to us of the visitors beyond their agitations. So the place has been given human aspects. Then, it is professed to be an emblem of the world. Little has been given to us as visual detail. We are in fact given mostly active description, and the technical vocabulary pertains to the act of Bowling, and Earle does not draw a scene or picture as much through objects. What we are left with to ponder is a picture described in action, of a place that represents another, through a shared atmosphere or ambiance of tendency-to-sin, or an air that creates a temper imbalance. What with this talk of humours, I am reminded again of Hippocrates' stress on the effects of place and climate on the human constitution. Earle gives us an extension of Hippocrates' simple people who dwell on the land. No longer subject to the elements, modern man creates his own "climates" his own places of the tempers in cosmopolitan settings. Earle returns to us the notion of the inseparability of the elements of the living man's life. This inseparability manifests as what appears to be a laxness or sloppiness about mixing metaphors and allegories in ways that might seem inconsistent at first glance. The surface confusion masks a deeper binding, that of the microcosm, where seemingly irreconcilable matters are subject to universal laws.

The last of the place Characters in Earle's is "Paul's Walk". This Character begins by making large comparisons. It is the "Land Epitome," or "lesser Isle of Great Britain." The microcosmic suggestion of the title is especially apparent here. His "Pauls Walk" is quite literally, in the aspects he describes, a small reflection of the country and even of myth. For instance, the vast confusion of stones, men, and languages is "nothing liker Babel." It is also called "the whole world's map," a Synod, and busier than Parliament. It is a "mint of lies" which is like "the



legends of Popery.” From here, approximately half way through the Character, the work reverts to a realistic description of the place, its aspects and occupants. Again, the micro/macro universality of laws and nature is being emphasized. Suddenly it is a thieves’ sanctuary, and the “other expense of the day, after plays, tavern, and a bawdy-house;” The stark carriage of men is described; old soldiers, “stale” knights and captains who linger and gossip, and the lowly street merchants too. Yet we can see how this realistic style of reportage could be transformed again into big allusions that comment on the nature of man; we do this ourselves in our minds. We “transcribe” his stark terms into the larger field he implies. The irony should not be lost, that this takes place in the very shadow of St. Paul’s Church. What better metaphor for the persistence of sin, even in a country under God, and what better means of emphasis than an infinite largeness of scale against the smallness of human weakness, given in equal proportions?

The “place” Character emphasizes what Earle does best. He has managed to conceptualized the natures of the Character to such a degree that he can write about virtually any topic without losing the formal integrity. His skill gives him the freedom to completely dispense with an “individual” as a subject and still give us something to grasp.

Earle can be seen as writing examples of the kind of loosening of the hold on the observed reality, as I see suggested by Eric Voegelin’s study of Aristotle, and which I see Vico suggesting is a part of faulty scholastic interpretation of texts. Art is at least partly in the eye and intellect of the beholder, and, as was gone into in the aspect of rhetoric studied in this paper, much of the success of a piece of work lies in reading the audience and second guessing expectations.

That a lot goes into the Character is a given. It can be read historically as a record of its time as can any text. Clarendon was an author and historian who is frequently lumped with Burke and Mastre for his conservatism. Clarendon wrote a history of the English civil war that used short Characters to identify the various relevant players in the history of England of the time. While most fit roughly into the form required to constitute Characters, they distinguished by one aspect; they are all individuals, and because of this are representative beyond "type." Their quality of "type" ness such as it is, is that they shaped events, fit into circumstance, and were present in significant places. Because of their historical identity, they are only partly important for their force of character, individual weaknesses and powers. In a word, "politics" rises to the surface from the depths of the Character. This aspect, displaced and transformed into abstractions such as we find in Earle, where individuals can be entirely suspended for the significance of social context, becomes blatant in later direct biography in a book identifying the political players of the time of the civil war.

Earle is the topic of one of Clarendon's historical/biographical Characters. The Character identifies Earle in his significant period as chaplain to the house of the Earl of Pembroke. He was fluent in Greeke, Latin and English, as, the Character tells us, his youthful writings profess, though some, Earle had suppressed himself. He was considered a powerful and elegant preacher as well as a pious and devout man. He was of such little pretension that he was negligent in his clothing. Clarendon mentions his proficiency in language several times and ends the Character with a pithy reversal attesting to Earle's goodness:

He was amongst the few excellent men, who never had,  
nor ever could have an enemy, but such a one who was an enemy

to all learning and virtue, and therefor would never make himself knowne. (Smith 170)

Clarendon mentions there would be “more later” on Earle’s departure for a time from the continent. Though Earle is depicted in what might pass as a Character, it is more in the line of a thumb-nail sketch, and outline for purposes of introducing a person to be drawn out more later as circumstance and situation necessitated. In this use, the Character is closer to the descriptions Ben Jonson had already placed in his dramas, or, looking farther back at our origins, the plays of Menander, which frequently depended on an early outline of a character for later use and development.

Earle the Character writer becomes a character in history, and his introduction is by means of a form he himself excelled in.

There is little we know about Breton that could account for the compulsion he displayed in the writing of his Characters. Breton’s choices evaded the personal. He wrote names and titles that were abstract and offered little material to visualize a type with. Yet they were far from inarticulate. As Hall expressed himself with a dichotomizing reasoning, Breton created Characters defined by their relationships to other Characters. There is a nearly physical sensation of movement in them, as there is in Hall. You can feel yourself being forced to follow a construction, because his Characters do not express the typical motivating desire to be read. As much as Breton might have wanted a reading patronage, the Character expressed something else. As all our English authors write close to one of the creative Character sources that gave to it immediacy, Breton drew from the humoural, or, in the elemental science equivalent, the alchemical source for his Character’s compositions.

Using names that represented various aspects of personality and nature, Breton chanted them, regularly and evenly, mixing and compounding them in their significant proportions to create the image of the Character. Breton's compulsion to identify was ruled by the instinct of the alchemist to act, and the observational quality of the physician to detect the state of the body humours.

Nicholas Breton was born in about 1555 to a wealthy family in London. His father, William Breton died in 1559, leaving properties and funds to Nicholas and his brother Richard, in the hands of their mother Elizabeth until they came of age. Due to a series of elaborate conditions of the will in case of remarriage and subsequent death of the reassigned executor, Breton's access to his funds became considerably tied up in litigation. (Breton, Poems of Nicholas Breton intro. xv) After a brief unsuccessful marriage to an Edward Boyes, and some difficulty receiving a divorce, Elizabeth married author George Gascoigne.

There was a legal battle over properties which Boyes claimed, but the result is not known. There was however a later settlement that awarded George Gascoigne control of Nicholas' and Richard's funds as their guardian. They eventually had to sue him for their inheritance, but there is no record of the result.

We know that Nicholas Breton attended Oxford. By 1576 or 1577 he was living in London. (xviii) His early writing style was similar to Gascoigne's in the use of alliteration and subject, though by the time *The Wil of Wit* was published in 1580, he had established his own voice. The years that followed saw him struggling as others (like Nashe) for the patronage of people like the Countess of Pembroke, Sarah Hastings, and Mary Gate.(xxviii)

Breton would try his hand at many forms, receiving a reputation by the early 1600s, though he frequently wrote about the poverty of the author.

His last work, Strange Newes, was published in 1622. It is not known how much longer after this date Breton survived.

Breton presents us with several variations on the theme of Characters. His variations are inclusive of what you would call the English Theophrastan Character, drawing general conclusions of qualities and faults using specific description of a model person in the form of a paragraph with a pithy or short summary at the end his The Good and the Badde (1616) is such a work. Two other works variously detour from this established character form, but still retain significant qualities of it.

Characters upon Essaies Morall, and Diuine,... gives us no professional or physical descriptions, though the characters who are merely virtues or aspects of living, are characterized as a he or a she.

Characters upon Essaies Morall, and Diuine,... first and clearly wants to be understood as a collection of characters, per the title. It should also be noted that the "Essaies" of the title is significant as well, doubly because of the work's dedication to Francis Bacon, whose own essays were read widely. The titles of the individual characters are the broadest, identifying in them no particular professions or types. They are abstractions that answer in some way to the second part of the title: Morall and Diuine. The character titles are "Wisdome," "Learning," "Knowledge," "Practise," "Patience," "Love," "Peace," "Warre," "Valor," "Resolution," "Honor," "Truth," "Time," "Death," "Faith," and "Fear."

The very first line of "Wisdome" tells us we are in for a complex journey of the mind with interrelationships and digressions, and a continuous use of allegory. The character begins with

Wisdome is working. Grace in the Soules of the Elect: by whom

the Spirit is made capable of those secrets, that neither Nature,  
 nor Reason, is able to comprehend: who by a powerful vertue,  
 She hath from the divine Essence, worketh in all things, according  
 to the will of the Almighty: and being before beginning, shall  
 exceede Time, in an eternall proceeding: She is a light in the  
 Intellectual part, by which Reason is led to direct the Senses in  
 their due Course, and Nature is preserved from subjecting her selfe  
 to Imperfection... (Breton Ed. Grosart Characters...5)

This is the beginning of a Character that is in fact a single long sentence. The question arises, why write in this way? Almost all of the characters in this work follow the long sentence as a rule. One of the first things that struck me in this long sentence was the capitalization of certain words. Some of the words occur later as titles of other characters. They are also included in the same contexts as "Almighty." It is clear that these words are not just names or tags for concepts. They are forced into a context of being anthropomorphic, forced to function as entities. And as entities, they have relationships with each other, dependence and behaviors. The parallel to the "begetting," the listing of family history after Adam in Genesis cannot be dismissed. Yet the entities referred to in "Wisdom" are not presented as having a particular chronological value; the value is more simply logical, and functional. Overall we are asked to stretch our imaginations and see how we would find these things alike or equivalent if materialized, their essences as word values actualized as matter, with whatever personality traits intact that would be carried with that word's value. What we are given is the fact of the words as entities' relationships to each other. The first two colons

worth of the sentence gives us a good idea of how this will develop:

Wisdom is a working Grace in the Soules of the Elect: by whom  
the Spirit is made capable of those secrets, that neither Nature,  
nor Reason is able to comprehend: (Breton 5)

"Wisdom" the Character is in part identified but its presence is dependent on its existence within something else. Wisdom is a Grace (working, which we can read as actual, animate or living) in the "Soules" and "Elect" being given import by the capital distinction. This Grace makes the Spirit (interchangable with soul? Some would say Spirit involves intellect) able to comprehend secrets inaccessible by mere reason or nature (right reason, also sometimes thought of as enlightenment). Are we perhaps to think of nature as below the inspired gift of grace or knowledge of right? But "Wisdom" has been distinguished from reason and nature, which we will see later are associated with "Learning." We are then told that "She" has a virtue which came from a divine Essence, which allows her to work in all things. At this we are told she is also "light" in the intellect by which Reason leads the Sences (note capital: Sences, like a band of followers. And by which Nature is preserved from imperfection. So here, both Reason and Nature are reintroduced not in opposition or distinction from "Wisdom," but as having a lower dependence, unrelated to the "higher level" distinction earlier made. One might imagine a system of "local" and "universal" operatives that keep in a constant relationship with each other. We are then told that "She" proceeded and exceeds Time, who is later also described as a Character, in an eternal "proceeding." The oddity here should be apparent. How can there be proceeding outside of time itself? The only possibility is that we are being presented with one of the traps where words fail, as they

do in both biblical settings (ability to describe the face of God) and in literature such as Dante's Paradiso. Something sharing in time may be in part outside of it, but sequence is the only means of referring to an outside that is in some way directed though not with movement or change. This also supports the possible explanation of a "local" and a "universal" sharing that is not mutually informed. We are subsequently told that at the Creation, She was in Council with the Trinity. She is also called the "Mother of the Graces," involved in the entire lineage of man, the redemption, the invention of Mercy, and the granting of either the grace of Nature or Reason; she gives instruction, through Vertue (also a Character) how to make the passage to Heaven. "Learning" (the Character that follows "Wisdom") receives knowledge from her. Without learning, we are told, all knowledge is Ignorance. (a potential Character?) So the Ignorance is the consequential entity generated by an uninformed Learning. In essence, the entity of Learning cannot exist without the mediating hand of Wisdom. We know that Ignorance exists, therefore, Wisdom must actually be under no obligation to Channel Knowledge. This we might say is a hidden aspect of Wisdom's character, a point allowing for a variance in the predetermined world. This notion suggests itself by the anthropomorphizing of a variety of unlikeness, universalized as imagined entities. Many unrelated things can be made to reveal their characters when forced onto what might be an unreasonable playing field; this perhaps is the region and partial function of the artistic aesthetic; to pick up where science and even right reason fail.

Up to here, Wisdom has been shown in her relationship with other abstractions, forced into temporary though undetailed bodies for our identification. But a transition is affected slowly. She keeps Angels in their



orders, we are told, teaching them their “offices” and employing them for service of the Creator. Our imagination is suddenly fed a visual kernel, as all have and had seen painterly renderings of angelic hosts, and this makes it much easier to visualize a heaven supervisor. She also walks among the stars and keeps them in their places. She operates “at her pleasure.” She eclipses the light, brings or clears clouds, draws down lightning or thunder, shows “Highest Wrath,” and calm as well. From the abstractions of the heavenly, existing in the realm of purpose, the observable only in effect, we are drawn down to the physically manifest, the observable world in which we dwell: from empyreum to the celestial to the world of man. She controls the seasons. With temperate weather she shows “his” Mercy. With Winter she shows the “weakness” of Nature. Spring shows us the “Recovery of Her health.” The use of seasons here seems odd, but what follows gives us a clue to understanding. Her pureness is not found in the “Lovers of this world”, .. “but with Her beloved She makes a Heaven on Earth.” Here is revealed the transparency of the worldly manifestations of God’s aspects for those who would see beyond the material of the world. The events of Nature are a veil that opens to all the preceding relationships that have been described, a hint, in Heaven upon Earth which She gives Her beloved, that the “local” and “universal” events of the hierarchy may not of necessity be mutually uninformed.

Lastly we descend to Wisdom manifest in man. We are now given specific types as we are used to in more typical versions of the Character, though briefly and to illustrate Her breadth of effect. Through the King, she shows Grace, through his council she shows care, through his state, strength. The soldier displays virtue, the Lawier, Truth, the Merchant shows conscience,

the Churchman shows charity. We now start to see that we are indeed looking at a character description of a somehow materialized female entity, whose manifestation is shared by all professions. At last, we are given a description that directly addresses her alone, without the mediation of substance or affect:

Shee receiveth Mannon, as a gift from his Maker, and makes him  
 serve her use to his Glory: She gives Honor, Grace in Bounty, and  
 naysaeth wit, by the case of discretion : She shows the Necessity  
 of difference, and wherein is the happinesse of Unitie: She puts her  
 Labor, to prudence, her hope, to patience, her life, to her Love  
 and her Love to her Lord: with whom, as chief Secretary of his  
 secrets, she writes his will to the world, and as high Steward of  
 his Courts, she keeps account of all his Tenaunts: in Sum, so  
 great is her Grace in the Heavens as gives her Glory above the Earth,...  
 that I will thus onely conclude, farre short of her Commendation:  
 She is God's Love, and his Angells Light, his Servants Grace and His  
 Belovede Glory. (Breton 5)

"Learning" follows immediately after "Wisdom" in the Characters upon Essais. Reading "Learning," one might suspect the characters are here given in a descending order of some kind. Within "Learning" there seems to be less movement across the cosmos and more definition compiled along two paths of allegory and metaphor. The opening of "Learning" very nearly makes it seem more like a series of situations and relations between several differing locations in space:

Learning is the life of Reason and the Light of Nature, where Time, Order,  
 and Measure square out the true Course of Knowledge; where Discretion

in the Temper of Passion, brings experience to the best fruite of Affection:  
 while both Theoricke and Practicke, labour in the life of Iudgement,  
 till the perfection of Art, shew the Honor of understanding: She is the keie  
 of Knowledge, the unlocketh the Cabinet of Conceit, wherein are  
 laide upon the Labours of Vertue, for the use of the Scholls of  
 Wisdome: where every gracious Spirit may finde matter enough  
 worthy of the Record of the best Memory: She is the Nurse of Nature  
 with that Milke of Reason that would make a childe of Grace,  
 never lie from the Dugge: She is the Schoole mistris of Witte,  
 and the gentle Gouvernor of Will, when the Delight of understanding,  
 given the comfort of Study:... (Breton 5-6)

The difference here from "Wisdome" is in the dual nature of the word  
 "Learning." While "Wisdome" is moreover a final accumulation of knowledge,  
 learning and reasoned inquiry, "Learning" is presented as an entity with an active  
 verbal nature, as well as a quality. The analogy of "life" and "light" both contains  
 not only that quality of a thing, but an active force as well, life the essence that animates  
 an organic vessel otherwise death, and light, the very measure of speed  
 and activity. "Light of Nature," gives us the animating force of an otherwise still  
 or unobserved world. "Learning," the character, exists to bring conscience  
 and awareness into the world. The sense of positions and spatial placement  
 introduced using the word "where" to locate "Learning" in regard to Discretion,  
 followed by "while," (theoricke and practicke) which places it physically also  
 in a parallel relationship with "labour" further defines the ambiguous nature of  
 this character which in an earlier and no less simpler way, regards light similarly  
 to the future understanding of "both wave and particle."

I have presented four authors in the second part of my paper to show the Character was able to emerge in the seventeenth century context, and how the Character's influences, the humours, Estates, Rhetoric and the seven deadly sins were retained if not strengthened in a next setting. Johan Huizinga stressed to power of environment to inspire in its survivors an art and social order that mocked the sufferings nature imposed. If we can view art forms as armatures or living valves responsive to pressures, we might see the re-emergence of the Character a necessity of culture responsive to the artist. Each artist represents one unique experience inside his environment. The chosen valve of some, the Character, is uniquely shaped to men's education, upbringings, and vocations.

Joseph Hall sought to create a stable world of binary digression and balance. The Character was a perfect form for him. He took a mock person, whose definition was not too clear, and dichotomized him until he was identified, diminished to a single point of logic, or summarized with proverbial wisdom. From his position between church, government and parish, Hall wrote his Characters; tidy exercises where everything came out balanced and well.

Nashe was in no such position as Hall. Thomas Nashe had come across the Character during his life and found it a fit pulpit or soapbox from which to project himself. He exploited the associated forms of the sins in the same way he put all his learning to use. Nashe's Characters were satiric and journalistic packages, moral as much as he was personally offended, and reasoned in that he attempted to inspire a mutual dislike in his audience for the targets he chose.

John Earle perhaps created the most authentic and what we term literary Characters. They clearly described a type with detail, but not too much, depended

on the accumulating strength of detailing toward the end, and were finished off with a pithy or ironic capitulation. But the particular Character that most distinguished Earle and the Character were the ones lacking a person. The four place-named Characters, "The Prison," "The Tavern," "The Bowl-Alley," and "Paul's Walk" stretched his skills as a writer, but also pushed him toward an honesty and insightfulness beyond his time. Like Huizinga looking back hundreds of years, from a safe distance where all history could meld into shifting people, places and conditions without the distraction of humane consideration, Earle was looking at his own time, people and places as one, an objective moment where and when dwellings were inseparable from people, and, as the prisoner in "The Prison" realizes his folly too late, it is all in the hands of fate. Again, the Character met Earle's challenge. This form of shifting fluids, lessons and motivations could deliver equally well a world devoid of men.

Nicholas Breton wrote many works using the exterior structure of melancholy, the four seasons, and other numerical items. These works tended to be later in his writing career. It seems he was searching for some way to absent himself from writing choices. Breton's Characters in The Good and the Badde focused on vocation; good practitioners and bad practitioners. But Breton's significant Characters were the ones where he most nearly removed himself, those in Characters Upon Essaies. As we said, he generated a society of Characters whose definitions were relationships with other Characters. They had no individual or independent existence. In his fantasies, perhaps Breton was paralleling a truly workable society where there was mutual support and responsibility; Characters fulfilled their natural roles and so there was no fuss or waste. This perfect order seemed like the hierarchy of the

old estate system. The Character had revealed itself again to be flexible to the needs of its user.

For different reasons, my four authors chose the Character form. Or did the Character choose them? The modes within the Character were shifting away from the cultural present. Humours would soon be replaced, the Estates were fading from memory as an institution, the seven deadly sins were clichés, and the Rhetoric of Ramus would before long become English school curriculum. Necessity answered individual need. But the Character was an expression of culture resisting change. The conservatism was on its face.

The sequence in which I presented the four English authors was ecclesiastical, then non-ecclesiastical. The purpose of this was to give an even representation of a facet of their Character's production that was not significant to my premise. This does not mean that religion, or chronology of these writers' works has no meaning. For me, it is best addressed by giving them even standing.

From the seventeenth century, the Character went in many directions. It might be thought that the energy behind it dissipated, or that potential practitioners of the form committed their time instead to the essay, or a new form, the novel. I prefer to believe the formative factors, the modes that contributed to the Character's creation are merely gathering force within another structure more relevant to the times.

The contemporary author Elias Canetti wrote a collection of Characters called Earwitness. The Characters have titles like "The King Proclaimer" and "The Granite Cultivator". As much as I admire Canetti, I felt a disappointment when I read them. Familiar with the literature of the long distance after the

Character, Canetti can only look back with a fondness, and write us some quaint and affected imitations, with the types not types but individuals, the conceit, merely absurd. The Character as such cannot be written today, because it is a seed that has grown into a tree. I think we can expect however that the tree will drop its seeds into the soil of a world that has change, when the humours and the laws of that tree's nature allows.

#### Notes

1 In Art of Physiology, Hyll described the sanguine in great detail. They had "moderate height, rough skinned skin, moist and soft flesh and gentle look, the hair lies down, the eyes are fair-sized, the shoulders round and slanting, the voice clear, the palms and fingers long." Vaugh in his Directions for Health stated that "The sanguine Humour is hot, moist, fatty, sweet, and seated in the liver, because it watereth all the body, and giveth nourishment unto it: out of which likewise issue the natural spirits." (Draper 23)

The liver has its own history that the Early Moderns drew upon to form their own frame of medical reference. Walter Burkert gives evidence of the use of the liver as a source of abstraction in antiquity. Clay models of livers, covered with cuneiform inscriptions have been identified as Mesopotamian, dating to the eighteenth century B.C. These models were used to instruct seers or healers regarding certain bodily likelihood, as well as broader deviations, in interpreting omens "read" from actual livers. Later model livers were found with Etruscan inscription that dated to the third and second century B.C. We know from the Greek Thulin and Rufus that the liver was

divided into sections; the gate, the head, a path, and a river. The Etruscan models showed an order of division that was very close. Based on a reading of the combination of four elements, events could be “auspicious” or “hostile.” If the “head” part is deformed or absent, it could be bad for a king or leader. The mixture, or combined affect of the four regions of the liver unavoidably remind us of the combination system of the humours, extended of course from out of the body to the larger body, that of the world of society and nations. The roots of the macro/microcosm are not far away from these speculations. For more on this topic, see Walter Burkert’s The Orientalizing Revolution. Cambridge MA.: Harvard University Press, 1995, 1992.

2 Choler under the sun was considered by Dariot as more fortunate and temperate. The man of the sun was “diurnall, fayre croceal, crisp of hayr, bald, of a fayre color.” The weaknesses were cramps, fainting, illnesses of the mouth, the stomach and the liver. It had a good odor, and its colors were gold, ruddy, white and purple. It became gentlemen and dames, and was close in some ways to the sanguine, though quicker in temper. Shakespeare associated the choler with the spleen as well as the heart. (Draper 46)

3 In book II chapter 11 of Rhetoric, Aristotle directly addresses the issue of character and how it is affected by the emotions, age, and fortune, presumably tying together all of the previous discourse. Here he again presumes the accuracy of some received learning. He also reintroduces virtue and vice. He starts by broadly defining the youthful type of Character. This type generally will be passionate because of age, what we recognize as sanguine in nature. They show absence of self-control and tend to gratify desires indiscriminately. They are both hot and quick tempered. They love, honor and cannot bear being slighted, so



easily give in to anger. Youth is also characterized as desiring supremacy and victory over other. Because of lack of experience, they look at the good side of something rather than the bad. Because they trust readily they can easily be cheated. They are sanguine in that "nature warms their blood as though with excess of wine." (1404) Their lives are spent largely in expectation, not yet having an accumulation of memory. They are inclined to do noble deeds over useful ones. They may be shy, and believe in the standards of the society in which they were raised. They are always sure of what they think they know, and this is why they overdo everything.

The character of the elderly man, the man who is past his prime, may be said to be made up of traits contrary to the youthful type. Because they have lived long, they have made many mistakes and been cheated many times. They therefore tend to think badly of life. They are also consequently unsure of everything and tend to under-do things, thinking things might be a certain way, but never sure.

Men in their prime are then situated between the extremes of the elderly and the youthful. They are not too timid, nor too rash, both of which are a measure of confidence. They judge people rationally rather than being too trustworthy or distrustful. They live life by both what is useful and what is noble, in correct amounts. They are brave while temperate. What are defects or excesses in youth and old age are found in proper proportions and moderation in the prime. The prime age for the body is thirty or thirty five, while the mind is at its peak at forty-nine. These are the three ages as defined by Aristotle.

### Annotated Bibliography

Aristotle. Basic Aristotle. Ed. and introd. Richard Mckeon. New York: Random House, 1941.

This standard edition contains the most well known of Aristotle's works in their entirety, and others in excerpts. The introduction outlines Aristotle's philosophy, first discussing his influence, his life, and then his work. The summaries are useful, but not necessary, as the translation renders his thought so clearly that it is redundant. On the other hand, his Problems would have been a useful addition, as they directly invoke the received knowledge of the humours to explain some of human ills, thus giving us a more accurate sense of his thinking and its context.

This volume does however give us an annotated bibliography of useful readings, which range from classicists such as Jaeger to modern philosophers such as Santayana, indicating the value of an open and contemporary interpretation of these works.

Nicomachean Ethics and Rhetoric are both included in their entireties. These important works are accepted by most as central to the understanding of the Character. While Ethics discusses human behavior in terms of good and

bad, Rhetoric deals with behavior as something in others which can be used to achieve an advantage in oratory, argument, and ultimately politics. Understanding is of course key to the message of both of these works and the positions they propose. Knowledge is truly power in the philosophy of Aristotle.

Babb, Lawrence. The Elizabethan Malady. East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1951.

Babb focuses on the popularity of the malady of melancholy in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. He spends much of his energy on what it meant, drawing on materials from literature, science and medicine, in an effort understand melancholy's particular vogue.

For this time period, science meant Astrology as much as natural science. Ficino's Three Books on Life, which preceded and influenced both Wright, who wrote Passions of the Mind, and Burton, who authored Anatomy of Melancholy, was heavily Astrological. Ficino was even in his time considered something of a mystic, but the contents of his Three Books are composed of elements that at least separately were consider established and acceptable by other "scientists." Ficino was a strong believer in the interrelated nature of the disciplines, so his celestial bodies and movements were strongly associated with illness, the humours, and both animate and inanimate substance on the earth below. Ficino's microcosmic implications proved as fashionable to his English counterparts as the affected dress young travelers brought back from Italy was to young English dandies.

Babb's main interest in melancholy in his book is in psychology and physiology, particularly in how they shaped melancholy as depicted in the popular literature. Again, there is a distinction between scientific and medical,

and the psychological lies roughly in the area we would character, and it is particularly in literature where the psychological is depicted. The chapter titled "The Malcontent Types" extracts melancholic profiles from Webster, Shakespeare, Marston and others to show the range of the malcontent in a way that shows Character to be a true study of human behavior. By moving back and forth from literature of the day to the scientific and medical interpretation it would have been given, had literature been studying in this way then, Babb clarifies a level of inference apparent for the Elizabethans that might without him be lost for a reader today.

Baldwin, Edward Chauncey. The English "Character." PMLA vol. XVII (1903, 1961) : 412-423.

Baldwin writes a good summary of the Character and its history, intelligently tracing the roots from Theophrastus, to Menander, Jonson, and those who shortly followed. Most striking in this article was his perception that historically, periods that produced analytic works, in which he groups the Character, are subject to a social decay, citing the Greece of Theophrastus, in the fourth century B.C. and England in the seventeenth century, with its rebirth of forms such as the Character.

Baldwin spends much time in his article proving The seventeenth century English author's indebtedness to Theophrastus by comparing Characters, pitting Hall, Earle and Overbury all against Theophrastus in their turn. Baldwin suggests previous to his study, the extent of the indebtedness had not been known. With the examples he presents, there clearly is appropriation.

Barnstone, Willis. Ed. The Other Bible. San Francisco: Harper, 1984.

This collection of creation myths, histories and narratives also contains the the Christian Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, which tells the story of Christ's

journey to Hell, his rescue of saints, and return. This adventurous book supposes to have been written in the first century, but more likely was a product of the fourth, written to counter pagan attacks on the story of Christ. It also represents an important documentation of the mystical motif of the Soul Journey.

Bloomfield, Morton W. The Seven Deadly Sins. Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1967.

This is a thorough and balanced work. The seven deadly sins are explored to their most ancient roots in Pagan and Jewish religion and followed until the fifteenth century, when Bloomfield feels the sins died, though his book ends with a study of the last great treatment of sin, Spenser's The Fairie Queene.

Bloomfield orients us toward the "center" period, the medieval development and changes of the sins, when they waxed and waned in importance and frequently exhibited very local interpretations. Much of the creative spirit was sparked by a need for explanation of the interpretations of the sins, a dimension that for some stressed the importance of an accurate order.

Importantly Bloomfield points to a web-like imposition of the sins into the domain of other knowledge, and the opposite, informing of sin by other knowledge, as well. The humours (212-213) and the seasons both inform a sermon by an early fifteenth century monk named John Mirk, who perceives in the humours and the seasons a cure for the seven deadly sins. Though used allegorically, the notion shows an attempt to make the rudimentary knowledge of the natural world comply with an even less tangible system. Bloomfield also examines secular literature for religious use of sin.

The Seven Deadly Sins is heavy with literary examples that sometimes give a disjointed feeling to the reader. But Bloomfield is ready to admit that, at

certain junctures, "a thorough study ...is called for," just as he declines following directions that would lead to works beyond 1510 (108) and his one later exception, Spenser. He draws his line at the time when he feels the emphasis had turned to the individual to such a degree that the sins no longer had meaning useful to his well constructed foundation.

Boyce, Benjamin. The Theophrastan Character in England to 1642. Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1947.

Based in part on notes written by Chester Noyes Greenough that were never consolidated, this book gives an account of the development of the Character, with short introductory sections on the Character's passage from Theophrastus to survival in Classical rhetoric. Boyce only very briefly mentions the seven deadly sins, though periodically (and in passing, 55, 157) and without reference in citations or index. The seven deadly sins are kept available to our minds by these name droppings, but they are beyond the scope and interest of Boyce's work here.

Boyce looks seriously and intensely for origins, however, in literary precedents, having less interest in purely historical material. His choices of Character influences are such as Ben Jonson and Barclay, and not to the more obscure or questionable sources that might require a certain degree of speculation. The overall effect is that Boyce sustains a high level of credibility throughout, stating what is reasonably arguable and supportable.

There is convincing material here on both the Estates and Homiletic writing that establishes them both as fairly obvious sources for the English Character. Boyce skips from a discussion on Classical rhetoric to the medieval form of the Estates without acknowledging a survival in medieval rhetoric, suggesting

that perhaps one form replaced the other (Estate for classical rhetoric) in influencing the development of the Character. It is in fact clear that one can choose and support his arguments with this material, as transformations of the type here, between literary forms, is difficult to authenticate. For instance, The Marriage of Philology and Mercury by Martianus Capella may be interpreted as have Character-like components, yet the personifications of muses (disciplines) may also be associated with other traditions of rhetorical history, and not the Character. Yet, Boyce's book remains one of the most important and complete books to date on this topic.

Breton, Nicholas. Characters upon Essais Morall, and Diuine. In Works of Breton. 2 vols. Ed. Rev. Alexander B. Grosart, LL.D., F.S.A. New York: AMS Press, 1966, 1879.

Grosart's introduction to these works gives us quite a lot of information about someone of whom it is said little is known. Grosart does this with original research of birth records and death certificates, wills and legal records. Though some of his work is speculation as to Breton's personal life, he is quick to admit the quality of evidence. Additionally, Grosart studies the works of Breton to detect shifts of emphasis, looking for clues to Breton's mental states as well as personal situations. For instance, Grosart detects a later focus on Melancholy as a topic, and a general religious fervor.

Breton wrote a number of pieces that contained what you would call Characters. These Characters varied somewhat in form, clarity and specificity, but even considering that some of them were less like Characters than others, we would have to conclude that the Character was an important interest of Breton's. His Characters upon Essais Morall and Diuine (1615) gives us

Abstractions, descriptive words that are used like Characters, which are interdependent on each other for definition.

In The Good and The Badde (1616) which follows his Essaies in this volume, Breton gives us fifty Characters. The first twenty-five describe Characters through professions and vocations, such as a Knights, or Judges. Each is presented first as a good practitioner, and then a bad one. The second half of the set, twenty-six through fifty, is composed of Characters of more general aspects, unrelated to vocation. Most of these follow the opposite pattern, but not every one. "An Unquite Woman" follows "A Quite Woman," but "A Usurer" is followed by "A Beggar." The result of this change is that you attempt to view them as opposites, even though they are both described in negative terms. This subtle manipulation of the reader is not beyond the interest or capability of Breton. He continuously steers toward abstraction at some level.

In Melancholike Humours In Verses of Diverse Natures, (1600) Breton describes melancholy in various terms distinct enough to give them a quality of Character. What becomes visible in his collected work is his drive to create a definition of identity that is particular enough to suggest intelligent or moral application, and abstract enough to have universal meaning. This drive is a natural criteria of all Character making in the purist form.

Breton, Nicholas. Poems. Ed. with introd. Jean Robertson. Liverpool: Oxford University Press, 1952.

This volume consists of poems not included in the Works of Breton prepared by Grosart. The section of the book entitled "Canon" frequently references Grosart, generally explaining why Grosart wasn't aware or capable of getting a particular poem to include in his own text. (lxxv) The general quality



of this work is no different than we find in Grosart's Works of Breton. For instance, the poem "The Uncasing of Machavils Instrvction to His Sonne" is a moral list given from father to son that outlines good behavior, a theme consistent with other Breton works we know.

Robertson's biography section on Breton is tangibly written and, because he separates canonical information from biography, is streamlined and easy to read. Though heavily reliant on Grosart, Robertson's biography moves more steadily. Grosart saw fit to include Breton's father's will in its entirety in his own introduction. Though informative, it is not important for the work.

Burton, Robert. The Anatomy of Melancholy. Montana: Kessinger Publishing Co., 1997.

This text became a standard in its time, consolidating and replacing the works of ancient authors, (Hippocrates and Galen) as well as the more recent (Ficino and Wright). Yet it is not correct to assume that Burton's work had no originality. The Hippocratic works contained casebooks of illness observed, and guidance for the traveling physician. Galen's works contained studies of the humours, as well as anatomies, though these were based on animal dissections. Ficino's work Three Books on Life was as much herbal medicine and astrology as anything, and Wright's Passions of the Mind was largely a work that from today's perspective we would consider an early work of psychology. What Burton did was draw from all of these, and add references from classical literature, as well as impose an extremely rigid and digressive pattern over the whole. The effect was the creation of an encyclopedia on the topic that, despite the seeming limitation of its title, covered the causes of melancholy, which could be things as diverse as love and constipation.

Because of Burton's literary references and wit, Anatomy of Melancholy had the attention of the artists of the day, and with the detailed analysis of of inner workings of the humours, as well as dietary remedies, the book had great practical application, though of course some of the medical information was questionable at best. While Hippocrates was the name applied to a large number of contributors to the Hippocratic Corpus, Burton did more than edit the work of others. Though giving credit when due, he paraphrased and worded in his own way, and colored with his own wit such that the entire work bore the stamp of one author.

Canetti, Elias. Earwitness. Trans. Joachim Neugroschel. New York: The Seabury Press, 1979, 1974.

This book contains fifty Characters that seem to be cut in the form of the style we are familiar with. Yet today this form seems forced, and Canetti's use is more nostalgic than necessary. In his multi-volume notebooks, Canetti is making constant reference to classical and seventeenth century topics. As he considered his notebooks to be necessary distractions while he did his "serious" work, and weren't written for publication, we gather that the dated form of the Character is a simple pleasure for him. They are naturally touched with irony in their innocence, but Canetti is demanding no more. These are formally Characters, but the essence of the Character has not passed on to them. Perhaps that is this book's true worth; to indicate to us we need to look elsewhere, in other forms for what the Character satisfied.

Draper, John W. The Humors & Shakespeare's Characters. New York:

AMS Press, Inc. 1965.

Draper uses Shakespeare as much to illustrate the particularities of

the humours as he does to explain the motivations of Shakespeare's Characters.

Much of Draper's sources are texts which he seems to have examined in the original. His bibliography lists thirty-nine treatises and handbooks on the humours only two of which have printing dates as recent as the twentieth century. Most were from the Sixteenth century. For someone studying Shakespeare's plays, it is certainly useful. But as a source for humoral study, it is invaluable.

Draper places the humours with the other "knowledge" of Shakespeare's time, such as the received understandings of the ages of man, astrology, "social planes and professional activities," (13) and even alchemy. By weaving a knowledge of and references from these various disciplines throughout the book, Draper manages to show as best as can be shown a thorough, rich, though simply premised imaginative perception of the natural world. His analysis of Shakespeare's use and knowledge of his days' body of learning brings one into a humbler appreciation for Shakespeare's abilities as a writer and as an intellect. .

Draper's book is broken down into chapters on the Sanguine Type, The Phlegmatic Type, The Choleric Type, and the Melancholic. Additional chapters deal with unique mixtures, transitions between humours, and false representation of humours. Rather than examining one play at a time, Draper illustrates his Humoural texts with different characters as they are required to explain the possible conditions regarding the humours. In a way his book is an Elizabethan science book, or, a book an Elizabethan might have written had he drawn examples from popular literary sources. As it is it is a useful map, a study of the physiology of Characters as they in their dramatic form appear in Shakespeare, showing the invisible bodily states that motivate the observed behavior, which creates the common perception of "Character."

Earle, John. Microcosmography. Ed. Harold Osborne, M.A.. London: University Tutorial Press Ltd, .

First published in 1628, Microcosmography may be closest to Theophrastus in its form, or at least what would become the model for the proper English Theophrastan Character. Information on Earle's personal history is rather sparse. What little is known is covered well in this volume's introduction. Educated at Merton College, he came to the attention of the king by way of Lord Pembroke. He became tutor to Prince Charles. In 1642 he received his Doctorate of Divinity, and was offered a position in the reordering of the church by Parliament, he declined a avowed royalist. Despite this, it attests to his respectability that he was yet offered such a position. He fled the country for a time, returning on the Restoration, thereafter accepting positions, eventually becoming a Bishop of Worcester and then Salisbury. (x)

Earle was known for his University writing and was respected for his fluency in both Greek and Latin, and was known as a powerful preacher. Of his education, he claimed to have received more from conversation than from Oxford. His own character was one of humility with a disregard of dress, and an inoffensive nature.

Harold Osborne's introduction gives a useful summary of the history of the English Character, referring to Theophrastus as a "botanist of the mind," (xv) supporting my own opinions on the reading of the works of Theophrastus, including his scientific writing, that for him, character was at least partly due to his botanical writing, which contained botanical taxonomy, a relevant form that became impressed upon his mind.

My own choice regarding the Characters of Earle's has been to select those Characters that are describes in terms of place. Osborne distinguished three types of characterology: "(1) the type of character, (a reserved man; a blunt man, etc.) (2) social types (an idle gallant; a shop keeper, etc.) and (3) places or scenes (a tavern; a bowel alley, etc.)." (xx) He also says, It is clear that the subject is always an abstraction, and therefore, unreal." This acknowledgment is important to my own choice of the characters dealing with place. The suspension of the human representation gave Earle freedom to direct his and the reader's attentions to aspects of human nature and behavior without the distractions of appearance.

Greene, Robert. Groats-worth of Witte and The Repentance of Robert Greene.

Elizabethan and Jacobean Quartos. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1966.

This volume contains the supposed last words of Robert Greene. It is a warning to all wayward and wanton youth not to follow his path. He relives moments when friends sadly appealed to him to change his ways, and laments their wasted effort. He also retells a bit of his personal history, his coming to London and baring the fashions of the malcontent in his youthfulness. It is of course hard to take him entirely seriously, and it can be imagined he expects a full recovery, though his printer informs us he has already passed away. It may be a repentance, yet it retains the quality of his other works, which is something he shared with Nashe; a taste for the city streets and the bustle city life. He ends again with warning and pleadings not to follow his example, and to fear God.

Greenough, Chester Noyes. Collected Studies. New York: Books for Library Press, 1940, 1970.

The studies in this volume range from lectures for historical societies

to journal publications and addresses for special events. Greenough was a well respected lecturer who dealt with larger historical issues as well as the literary particular. Useful in this volume is his article on the Character in history titled, "The "Character" As a Source of Information for the Historian." In this article he defines the Character and quickly moves to a tracing of its natural progression toward the novel. It is Greenough's contention that the Character wasn't replaced as much as it evolved. He cites Samuel Butler as a transition figure between the late Character, typified by those of Thomas Fuller and his Holy and Profane State, (1642) and those of Addison in the eighteenth century. Greenough also discusses the developments of the French, La Bruyere in particular, who wrote a book of Characters (1688) which emphasized background and environment.

Additionally, Greenough studied Breton in "Nicholas Breton, Character-Writer and Quadrumaniac." This paper discusses the tendency of Breton to make lists of morals and aspects of Characters in fours, as opposed to three or two. This is particularly true in Characters upon Essaies Morall and Diuine, which asks a question which it answers, then asks another before going on to the next aspect, so that there is a question/answer, question/answer limit on many of the Characters. Greenough relates this to the discursive aspect of the Essay, to which this piece of writing by Breton is related in its name.

Otherwise, this volume focuses on other persons of England and New England who create a context for literary forms such as the Character. Though Greenough strays in time and place, he is never far from interpreting in terms relevant to the Character in background or future.

Hall, Joseph. Characters of Vertues and Vices: In two Bookes and Heaven Upon

Earth. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1948.

This is the book, publication year 1628, which is generally credited with introducing the Theophrastian Character to an English speaking audience. Though Theophrastus was available to the scholar in Latin, in Casaubon's version of the Greek, it was yet an incomplete form (having no surviving virtues), suffering from changes and additions from other hands. (Theophrastus intro. J.M. Edmonds 3) The purpose to which Hall set it was moral instruction, and to this end, Hall's English made it much more accessible to a wider and more general audience.

Though there are obvious and acknowledged borrowings and interpretations of Theophrastus here, Hall's Characters are largely his own invention. This is more than he knew, because he misunderstood Theophrastus as a moralist, and not a taxonomist, thus steering away even further from the original intent. These Characters are distinct in how Hall uses them to pursue moral generalities. Using a dichotomizing technique of division he learned at school under the Ramist influence, Hall contrasts observed aspects of Character two at a time, choosing one branching aspect over another. If it may be further distinguished he continues to multiply and separate. ("Of an Honest Man" 149) If he exhausts it, he pursues another branch. Ultimately these distillations lead to their final, indivisible state, or a summary of the accumulated, final distinction. But Hall did not advocate logic or reason free of devotion. Reason would make truth more visible, lastly to be understood through scripture. (Tourney 91) Stylistically, Hall chose the short precise sentence of structure of Seneca over that of Cicero. This is apparent from his Characters, and it works well with the train of reason he uses. Hall has chosen understanding over ornament. This choice represents a

consistency in Hall that we see in his life as well as his work. Yet this pursuit of clarity was not without problems. Hall was caught between Puritan and Anglican leanings that at various times alienated him from both sides. This tendency toward a middle ground is philosophically more typical of Aristotle and his variety of syllogism than it is of Ramus. That opposites would both be bad choices, and the gradated middle area was the proper choice, may have been what Hall was striving for in how he applied reason to life.

What characterizes Hall most is an earnestness and sincerity in applying himself to problems of morality, church politics and his art. In Heaven Upon Earth, Hall gives moral and scriptural guidance in the form of a man in reflection to himself and looking to God who dwells within him. This getting to the divine, internally, necessitates the use of the human state, and human tools of intellect and reason to reach it. In the same way, Hall externally expressed the same use of tools toward divine ends. Hall draws on Ramistic, Aristotelian, Senecan, and Proverbial wisdom and stylings as are necessary. Of these, the scriptural are most important. But all may be enlisted to attain the goal of divine truth, as human understanding is imperfect, and must at best be always work for.

Hibbard, E. R.. Thomas Nashe A Critical Introduction. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1962.

Hibbard is a critic frequently quoted by other authors as an authority on Nashe. Donald McGinn set him against McKerrow as his authorities in his volume I used as a source. Hibbard saw Nashe as an author out of place and time, a forerunner of the journal forms of the future, and a figure as important to the history of literary forms as he was to the development of style.

Hippocrates. Trans. W.H.S. Jones. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press,



1923, 1939, 1948, 1957.

This text is not the complete Corpus Hippocraticum, but it contains those texts which were most widely read and reproduced. Jones' introductory material explains the history and questionable authorship of the text, some of which are not included. What we do have are the works most used as handbooks and those that survived in the works of Galen and his followers.

Huizinga, Johan. The Autumn of the Middle Ages. Trans. Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzch. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996. Prev. pub. as Waning of the Middle Ages.

Huizinga presents the history of the late Middle Ages largely imbedded in the day to day difficulties of people struggling with the limitations of the economic system and technology. By presenting life as an unending litany of extremes and high contrasts, he identifies ritual, art and social structure as direct results of life's difficulty, and ritual in particular as an extended behavior linked to a natural need for release.

The Estate system figures prominently in this work, which relates it to the rituals of chivalry. Cruelty, courtly love and appreciation of beauty are all contextualized in ordered performances of pageantry and play.

What Huizinga offers the study of the Character is a perception of the physical backdrop which makes the development of the Character a more typical reaction to the threat of disorder. The vocational and professional types that were part of the Estate hierarchy fed the Character, but also drew with it the need to identify with a group, and yet retain an individual survival, which is an important ambiguity of the Character.

---. Homo Ludens. Author's translation. Boston: Beacon Press, 1955.

Using both literary, historical and anthropological arguments and evidence, explores the pervasiveness of play in the ordering of human life from ancient times to contemporary societies.

Though evidence is drawn from primitive culture, as well as Eastern and Oriental, the focus is largely on Western Civilization, with medieval and early modern receiving most of the attention.

Homo Ludens is an extension or footnote to Huizinga's *Waning of the Middle Ages*. It expands his philosophy of extremes and ties it to play and, importantly, the estates. Chivalry, tournaments, and the feudal system are bound together in his argument and give us a picture of role playing and vocation in the estate hierarchy that makes sense.

Kirk, G.S., Raven, J.E., and Schofield, M. The Presocratic Philosophers.

London: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

This volume is a valuable source for tracing original ideas and theories to their probable roots. Physics for example of Anaximenes, though not surviving as extant examples from the hand survives as quotation in the works of later authors, including Aristotle and Theophrastus. (145) This fact is important on several counts. Firstly, we see the influence on the thinking of these later authors, to what extent they have set off on their own, and to what degree they were derivative. And also we see the distribution of the ideas across a wide range of intellects, and see in what way forms they survived. The humors can be traced to the elemental forces and materials in Presocratic Philosophers with varying degrees of recognition. That topics concerning the origins of Character thinking can be followed to margins of recognition in ancient authors is satisfying because it gives a feeling of completeness; of birth from the undistinguished and

generalized theories of the cosmology and physics. The oldest features contributing to the Character form had root in early speculation on the composition and forces of nature. This history becomes especially evident through the lines of survival that emerge from this book. As we progress back to Anaximenes and Empedocles, we can see there is a tendency to think in increasingly all embracing terms. It also seems likely that the senses of a “microcosm” had ancient roots and were implied (and obvious) in much such writing.

The Presocratic Philosophers also contains considerable commentary and analysis, which frequently makes sense of fragmentary quotations from different sources which have been put in a numerical sequence to simulate something continuous. Thus the commentaries of the editors are the glue that reconstructs the discontinuous philosophy of many of these ancient authors. Each chapter also ends in a conclusion. This form acknowledges the necessity to create an extended context. It is not enough that these works be consolidated and rejoined from different sources. The sensibility must also be rejoined, and there is no absolute proof that that there were ever any single source manuscript for many of these authors. What the commentaries, analysis and conclusions must then do is present a point of view that might have come from a single mind; that despite the varied origins of quotes and borrowings can be made to appear consistent internally with each other, within a larger, partially imagined system.

Lydgate, John. The Assembly of Gods. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1895.

The Assembly of Gods was written probably sometime around 1412. Drawing heavily on Prudentius' Psychomachia, Lydgate drew also from literature of the intervening years, and a freedom of expression allowed now

because of the distance from the pagan past. So as close to Psychomachia as this is in some ways, it is also much more sophisticated. For instance, there are motifs drawn from medieval tradition, such as the frame in which a common man falls to sleep, only to find himself transported to another world.

Such a sleeping frame is seen in the Divine Comedy.

The vices are overseen by pagan gods. The virtues, who are to be set upon (not initiating the battle) are pure and Christian virtues, with no pagan associations, their heroic nature aside.

McGinn, Bernard. The Foundations of Mysticism. New York: Crossroad, 1995, 1991.

McGinn traces Christian Mysticism from its origins to the fifth century. These early roots cover much of the same ground as Bloomfield, but McGinn is not looking for so specific a motif as the seven deadly sins, and consequently, his net falls a bit wider. To McGinn, mysticism is essentially monastic, so much of his attention focuses on the tendencies leading up to the founding of the early monastic orders in the fourth century. Of course, the definitions and forming of the sins coincided and demanded in some cases the creation of dogma, so these materials are intertwined. McGinn gives considerable space to Cassian, who we have seen as a contributor to the order history of the seven deadly sins. Though McGinn doesn't stress this particular contribution of Cassian, he does make clear a larger context, as Cassian is credited with a wide affect on the perception of contemplation and prayer, both things relevant to overcoming the temptations of the mystic's soul to sin. All of his work of course dealt with the problems of the desert order of monks, and as an answer to their unique situations of aloneness, Cassian's thought took on the approach of a science. It should be

no surprise then that he defined a certain order of sins, just as he suggested a systematic method of combating them, involving humility and discretion. With the kingdom of God the goal of the monk's journey, the necessity for a path is obvious. Along the way, Cassian contributed significantly to the dogma of the early church.

McGinn, Donald J.. Thomas Nashe. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1981.

Gives a short biography and analysis of each of Nashe's publications.

All is accompanied by historical data as much as literary analysis. The view implied is that Nashe is inseparable from his controversies and environments, which McGinn suggests without forcing an argument or stating such a view outright. That each writing was accompanied by some necessity, opportunity of leisure or wounded pride comes across in the writing, as it seems Nashe wrote much regarding his economic, social and literary circumstances.

McGinn also gives us something of an insider's view regarding Nashe scholarship. He relies heavily on Hibbard and McKerrow himself, but also compares the opinions of books on Nashe, and frequently offsets one critics' remarks with another's. There is enough of this secondary reference to make the work additionally a study of Nashe controversies as they extend into the realm of Nashe criticism today.

McGinn's final chapter considers the puzzling aspects of Nashe, as well as giving one line summaries of the meaning of Nashe's individual works for the history of English literature. Such summaries are "although *An Almond* seems to lack form, it consists of scurrilous anecdotes intermingled with occasional references to religious differences, all intended to point out the absurdity of Puritanism." Also, "Like *The Anatomie of Absurditie*, *Pierce Pennilesse* is a satiric attack on the social ills and eccentricities of Elizabethan London." (169)

Menander, Plays and Fragments. Trans. With intro. By Norma Miller. London: Penguin Books, 1987.

Norma Miller's introduction gives a history lesson on Menander, his context and in what ways he was important. The introduction becomes a short study of the New Comedy, and in how Menander's plays were characteristic of this new movement.

Menander uses character to generate circumstance, which is invariably followed by conflict and the comic aspects of the plays. The characters and their various types, the differences between them are the source of action. Though Menander doesn't write what we would call character studies, this use of character to generate action relies on a necessary authenticity and realism which was new in theatre, and like Aristotle's use of the study of character in oratory, it represents an advance in the form, and not a corruption or a degeneration.

"Old Cantankerous", begins with Norma Miller's introductory notes, synopsis, and production notice. These notes give us important information regarding the setting, story line, production history of the play, and relevant recent scholarship on manuscripts and fragments.

"Old Cantankerous" begins with Pan directly addressing the audience, as a kind of omniscient narrator. He gives us a brief character profile of Old Cantankerous (Knemon), though after the first paragraph, he gives us Knemon's personal history which is obviously setting the stage for resolution. The first part of this background which pertains to Knemon's personal traits could have been written by Theophrastus, his teacher, it is so close in style. Menander begins

by describing Knemon in general terms as a hermit of the kind who... in true characterly form. He then describes traits particular to environment and circumstance, then in terms that are entirely individual (his domestic situation and family) so that we are drawn from a context of types the audience would recognize to particulars which they could then empathize with because of the already described, broader setting.

Mitchell, W. Fraser. English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson. New York: Russell & Russell Inc., 1932, 1962.

Fraser creates a setting for us by first examining the task of the sermon, with introductory summary of the various means by which religious instruction was achieved. This introduction is followed by a breakdown into commonality and difference. "From the time of Origen" (51) Greek rhetoric was seen to affect the sermon. Rhetorical history is explored as a general background for church oratory. Rhetorical education follows on this section, as well as contemporaneous humanistic influences during the period examined.

After this context setting, Fraser looks at preaching as a form of Rhetoric itself, citing statements by Burnet for instance, who apprehended that the sermon was a rhetorical means by which to deliver clear spiritual instruction. Rhetoric was to be genuine and simple. Ostentation, according to Burnet, was out, as was excessive and too frequent quotation. (129) This criticism was of course countered by other contrary opinions.

The history of Pulpit Oratory is then seen as a parade of preachers with certain theological affinities, as well as the superimposition of the preaching fashion on the day: the inclination toward quotation and ornament, its contrary drive toward simplicity, the extempore sermon, the literary and the planned, written

out or from notes. Such elements could be seen in theological shifts, yet the preachers themselves are treated as the individuals they were. Donne, for instance, was theoretically inclined toward simplicity yet generated prose of great beauty by virtue of a unique personal vision. (190-194) Donne's perception of simplicity involved the use of appropriate exegesis, not its entire elimination. So his sermons evolved from short sentences to accumulated effect (Senecan influence) and the use of echo of his previous materials to build to his finales. Joseph Hall is compared and contrasted to Donne. Both Senecan on the one hand, Hall's sermons, though containing Greek and Hebrew quotation, are seen as plain and orderly. (226-227) As with his Characters, and moralistic writing, his sermons were sprinkled with classical and therefor Pagan references drawn from his earlier education. Fraser gives evidence to the opinion that Hall was a true synthesis of his Classical and Rhetorical learning, despite (and maybe because of Aristotle) an inclination toward a middle path that might have been interpreted as personal weakness or a moral dullness.

Montaigne, Michel De. The Complete Essays. Trans. M.A. Screech. London: Penguin Books, 1987.

Screech's introduction to the Essays is a good analysis of the book's significance. Beginning with a biographical background, he quickly places Essays in the context of its time. He outlines Montaigne's influences, originality, and reception. The introduction also acts as a summary of both the collected Essays and Montaigne's general philosophical positions as can be distilled from the Essays. This backdrop is most useful, not to be unarguably accepted verbatim, but to use as pointers for what might be a disparate reading experience.



Screech's notes are short and to the point, printed at the bottom of each page. They identify implied sources of reference, or supply short definition length explanations.

Montaigne may be read pleasantly profitably for any number of reasons. He writes about events of his time, and presents views of one man of the world. He is also an important link between essay and Character. John Florio's English translation made it available to English Character writers, who surely noted the presence of all their chosen modes in Montaigne.

In the Essays, we see one man presenting his curiosities, personal idiosyncrasies and opinions in such a forth coming and unrestrained way that the books virtually present themselves as one enormous Character. The combination of Montaigne's learning with his life experiences in the roles of statesman, soldier and aristocrat gives him a firm position from which to express himself on all topics of like opinion. Again, his familiarity with all modes of Character, ie., the estates, humours, sin and virtue, give him the quality of a Character narrating its own nature.

Nashe, Thomas. The Unfortunate Traveller and other Works. Ed. J.B. Steane.

London: Penguin Books, 1972, 1985.

Steane's introduction focuses on Nashe the "minor" artist, the level Steane's contemporaries have put him on, below Shakespeare, Marlowe and Jonson. Steane is of course being partly ironic, but he also defends the "minor" status in terms that identify and do not necessarily degrade. Nashe is different from his contemporaries. Nashe is an "entertainer" wearing many hats in his act. A scholar, a poet, a critic and moralist, Nashe writes from all these perspectives

when required by his enthusiasm.

Steane distinguishes "classic" from "major" and "minor". Nashe's "classic" quality Steane defines as awareness of his audience, a consciousness of his position as author, his perhaps self-conscious extemporaneous style, and his professionalism in drawing from literary and non-literary sources. "Minor" regarding Nashe is not presented in entirely negative terms. It seems more of an alternative to the confines of the "major." "Minor" is defined as lacking in depth. We might more positively term it "casual." He is rebellious in nature, yet his substance is conservative. He is learned but his writing style is popular. Steane turns away from comparing him to contemporaries (such as Shakespeare) and rather sees him related to Dickens in the energy of his style, as well as his turn of phrase. "...a man contorts his face 'as a man would stir a mustard pot...' " (39) and choice of topics.

The text of this book, which includes Pierce Penniless is corrected for spelling, with some adjustments and added subtitles that are for instance in the margins in Mckerrow's Nashe. Though The Unfortunate Traveller and Pierce Penniless are presented complete, Tears over Jerusalem is given in extracts, as are some earlier writings. Notes are given at the bottoms of the pages, mostly to identify the obscure word of reference, and not to extrapolate, so they are short; not distracting, but also not overly informative.

Nicholl, Charles. A Cup of News. The life of Thomas Nashe. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984.

Though A Cup of News supposes to be predominantly a biography of Nashe, it is also much about his writing and authorship. This choice attests to the journalistic quality of his writing; his work is the best source for information

concerning his environment, patronage, associates and personal triumphs and problems. A Cup of News prepares us from the beginning for the emphasis of the entire book.

Years at Cambridge and London are documented in detail by his relationships with others. Marlowe was a great friend at school, and Nashe was friends with Robert Greene in Cambridge and later in London. It is suggested (27-28) that Greene was something of a model for Nashe. With a melancholy affectation and an affinity for the low, as well as scholarship, his life may have pointed to the topics Nashe would exploit, as did Greene himself with his "Coney-catching" pamphlets. In London, much ink was spent on the pursuits of patronage, such as appeals to the Countess of Pembroke in the introduction Nashe wrote for Sidney's *Astrophel*, an introduction which was badly received and caused the edition to be replaced. Nashe reaped revenge in *Pierce Penniless* by being critical of Sidney, and Spenser's earlier celebration of him in print. Besides retorts in pamphlets such as *The Phoenix Nest*, (120) Nashe suggested later in *Lenten Stuffe* that some legal action had been taken against him for disguised personal criticism in *Pierce Penniless*, though the object of this criticism is in some dispute. The significant fact is that these writings which considered real people, events and places generated written responses, and these responses in turn became an energetic aspect of the literature. Nashe further drew criticism for his depictions of Puritans and foreigners in his Character section of *Pierce Penniless*. Robert Beale, a puritan and member of the Privy Council, (116) wrote to Lord Burghley that *Pierce Penniless*, with its national slurs on the Danes, would only create unnecessary tensions and ultimately play into the hands of the Catholics.

What we deduce from A Cup of News is that Nashe as a Character and author was inseparable from his environment, and that his writings were inseparable from both. His role as a pamphleteer and agitator fed his work, and stirred the controversy which he relished in interpreting.

Prudentius. The Poems of Prudentius. Trans. Sister M.Clement Eagan.

Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University Press, 1965.

The poems of Prudentius, a fifth century lawyer who retire to write devotional poems, present many of the contradictory aspects of the religious mind of his era. Though this very volume contains a work called Against Symmachus, which was written to criticize Symmachus, who wished to bring the statues of the Gods back into the Roman senate, other works draw on a knowledge of Greek and Roman myth as if the proud displays of a scholar. The Christian Dogma was still being formed at this time, largely in terms of what it wasn't. The body of the new was small compared to the quantity of the old from which Christianity set itself apart.

The answer to this problem for those such as Prudentius was to transfer the heroic, mythic qualities onto Christian morality. Psychomachia presents an internal battlefield; the place is the human heart, and the war is fought for possession of the soul. This is a typical occurrence of the "microcosm", which is an ancient tradition that survived well into the late modern era. A heroic battle is fought between the virtues and the vices. No pagan deities are named here, but we can see the mythic tradition is being superimposed over and taken for its excitement value. There is a Christian moral with each slaying. As with the pagan gods, the virtues and vices represent the strengths and weaknesses of the human heart. That they are so personified in a Christian context verifies

the basic need to externalize human characteristics, even when they are only to be shrunken down again and placed back inside.

Smith, David Nichols. Ed. Characters from the Histories and Memoirs of the Seventeenth Century. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918.

This anthology contains many Characters of the type that were embedded in larger forms, given as biographical sketches to describe historical figures. For this reason, they tend to be too detailed to truly be characterized as Characters, but as biography, some of them do have a representation man quality. Particularly important are Clarendon's biographies of seventeenth century English men of various significance, including a profile of Earle himself. Samuel Butler is also well represented as a author of the Character. Theophrastus, The Characters of Theophrastus. Ed & trans. J.M. Edwards.

Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1929, 1953

Edmond's translation of the Greek Characters is highly readable and doesn't forfeit flow for translation. Edmond's introduction explores questions that might arise concerning the purpose of these writings. Confident that the order he presents is the author's own, Edmond suggests, with Theophrastus' scientific knowledge, this work was not meant as a scientific catalog. They serve, he suggests, as a part of the poetic, to fill a void of such material in Aristotle's Corpus. Evidence for this opinion is that similar Characters, such as the "Garrulous Man," "Loquacious Man" and others should be grouped by likeness to each other, which they are not. They are more pleasingly arranged in a way thought to be more satisfying to the reader in his need for variety.

Also satisfying is personal information about Theophrastus, which Edmonds gleans from several sources. For instance, he draws a picture

from Athenaeus, which has Theophrastus sitting in a garden, comically mugging and posing during a discourse. (8)

Edmonds draws comparisons to earlier and perhaps influential work, such as Plato's Republic, Herodotus, Histories and Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics. Edmonds acknowledges likeness, but also is quick to distinguish. Much of Theophrastus' distinction is in his humor, which is an indispensable part of his Characters. Buffoonery describes a man whose every move seems to be at the expense of another's, and in even the most trivial action, such as eating a merchant's goods as he stands talking to him at market, or hissing an actor who everyone else approves. Though not all the Characters contain examples so obviously designed to amuse us, the fact that even negative characteristics can be typified has an element of humor about it.

The later Characters in this collection tend to be more specific, the earlier ones, somewhat sketchy. This condition might suggest that the form was defined even as they were written. As such, there are at least some examples of Characters very close to the English Character in form. It is also worth noting that these are all meant as sketches of Greeks. There are no identifications or references to other nationalities, and as broad as the earlier Characters are, they are all meant to represent local types. This state makes the specific/ general contrast much sharper and more ironic.

Tourney, Leonard D. Joseph Hall. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979.

Tourney writes a broad and general biography while zeroing in on what I have seen to be significant factors of Hall's career. The biography follows a chronology, but there are two excellent topical chapters.

The chapter titled "The Taxonomy of Morals" is particularly relevant.

Tourney gives support to my opinion that in part Hall's importance was as a popularizer of the Character form, and popular morality was part of his motivation.

"... the ruder multitude might even by their sense, learn to know vertue, and to discern what to detest." (Tourney 48) Tourney supposes this quote to mean that Hall has found a way without threat, to instruct his readers in morality.

Tourney, rather than relating the difference between Theophrastus and Hall in intent, regards them in the same way some, such as Osborne, find them different. Tourney observes that Ramism is in some way like the ordering present in taxonomy. (49) He feels Hall suggests this of Ramus with the ordering of morality and taxonomy of Hall's Characters. He doesn't however refer to Theophrastus' "taxonomy."

The other chapter that I found important was titled "Pulpit Eloquence." This chapter focuses on the way he structured his sermons, and their rhetorical qualities. Under the topic of "Sermon Themes," Tourney suggests that Hall's main motivation was to edify his audience, not to speculate. (108) Hall pursued simple truths. His Bible was not filled with mysteries, but was an understandable handbook with which to guide one's life. In other words, he used scripture as a fixed text given for guidance in the practical and moral problems that members of his congregation could have.

Vico, Giambattista. New Science. Trans., David March, intro., Anthony Grafton.

London: Penguin Books, 1999.

The most powerful principle offered by Vico is that a large amount of history and anthropology that we consider fixed is divisible into stages and repetitive progressions often predetermined (hence predictable) by circumstances,

and nature. Vico's notion that there are stages, principles such as providence, marriage and burial that may be detected from the educated position of Philosophy and philology was innovative and for some ridiculous in his time. Now he seems inspired and his reason can stimulate insight of one's own.

Writing In an aphoristic style, he creates relationships that mimic human relations, between behavior traits; "curiosity is an inborn human trait which is the daughter of ignorance and the mother of knowledge. (89) Elsewhere he makes grand pronouncements: "Here is the order of human institutions: first forests, then huts, next villages, later cities, and finally, academies." (p.98) There is another progression on the same pages: "People first sense what is necessary, then consider what is useful, next attend to comfort, later delight in pleasure, soon grow dissolute in luxury, and finally go mad squandering their luxury."

Vico doesn't restrict the topic of history to itself, considering myth to be the civil history of early man, and that he can present philological proofs for lists of historical topics. Yet his greatest strength lies in his ability to make intuitive declarations that are in and of themselves quite indefensible, though managing to touch repeatedly on universal chords. For instance, he brings his attentions to the psychology behind the need for "microcosms":

In his ignorance, man makes himself the measure of the universe. And in the examples cited, man has reduced the entire world to his own body. Now, rational metaphysics teaches us that man becomes all things through understanding, *homo intelligendo fit omnia*. But with perhaps greater truth, this imaginative metaphysics shows that man becomes all things by



not understanding, homo non intelligendo fit omnia. For when man understands, he extends his mind to comprehend things; but when he does not understand, he makes them out of himself and, by transforming himself, becomes them. (160)

Voegelin, Eric. Order and History, vol. Three, Plato and Aristotle. Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1957.

Voegelin writes as a historian, philosopher and philologist all at once. Consequently the product of his thought crosses boundaries and gives unique perspective on topics he examines, such as the forms of classical learning. It is apparent from reading Voegelin that he would consider it impossible to understand history without knowing at least the rudiments of the arts and disciplines of the time period in question. Just as arts and people have a context in history, so history has a context in other realms as well. Order in history is the imposition of philosophy, religious organization and politics on time and people.

Voegelin presents Aristotle as a self-aware idealist, who foresaw the potential of perfection (unlike Plato's actually existing transcendental models) and then the actual manifestation, which was necessarily less perfect, and what we can behold. It is Voegelin's contention that this idealization was passed onto Theophrastus, and that the Character was a unique manifestation of the ideal and actual working together, where an individual is described, but a type is also presented.

---. Autobiographical Reflections. Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1989, 1996.

Voegelin gives credit to the various historians, philosophers and

teachers who influenced his life and career from his time as a youth in Germany to his emigration and teaching positions in the United States.

Voegelin's own history and influences help to account for his interpretation of Aristotle and the role he plays in the creation of the *Character*. Voegelin's own work and life lean strongly toward the categorical. His claim that Jean Bodin was an early object of his obsession is important. Bodin, the seventeenth century French multi-disciplinarian stressed interpretation through reconstruction of the past by cross referencing different fields of knowledge, to verify accuracy and continuity. His method of analysis foresaw Vico with a much more stable setting.

Zaleski, Carol. Otherworld Journeys. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

This book takes a broad view while still giving select detailed accounts of the soul journey. Considering the Shamanic experience and psychic travel as well as near death-journeys, Zaleski gives literary and religious context to what she first considers a real and universal phenomenon.

Zaleski's study includes a brief survey of Gnostic myth, and the early Christian variations on the journey theme. Followed by what she calls the "itinerary" of the journey in the Middle Ages, Zaleski digresses into comparisons between recorded historical experiences and contemporary occurrence of both vision and near-death "hallucination." Not speculative or indulgent, she effectively makes a reasonable case for the universality of the experience or imagining of a very specific kind of vision.

